This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

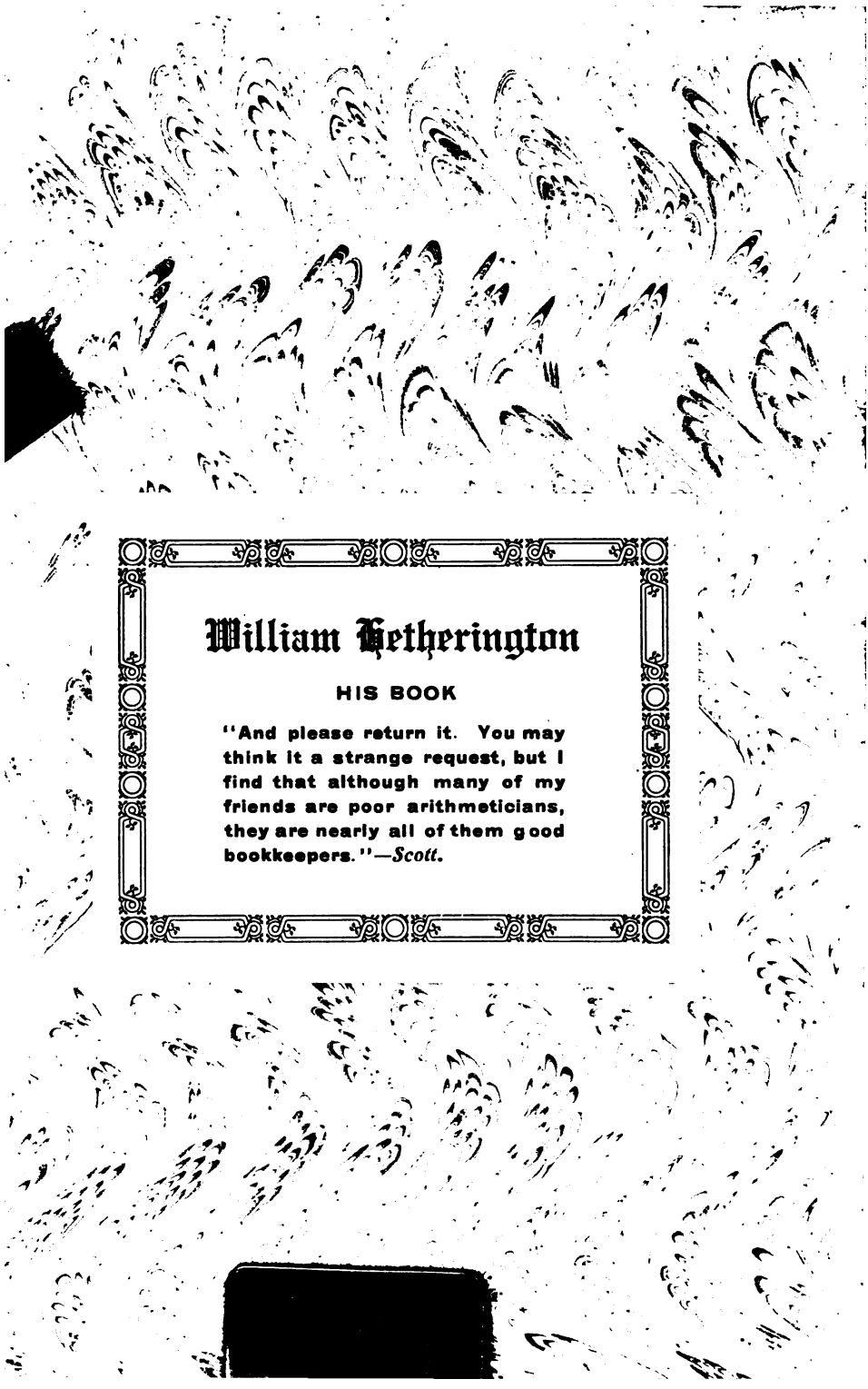
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

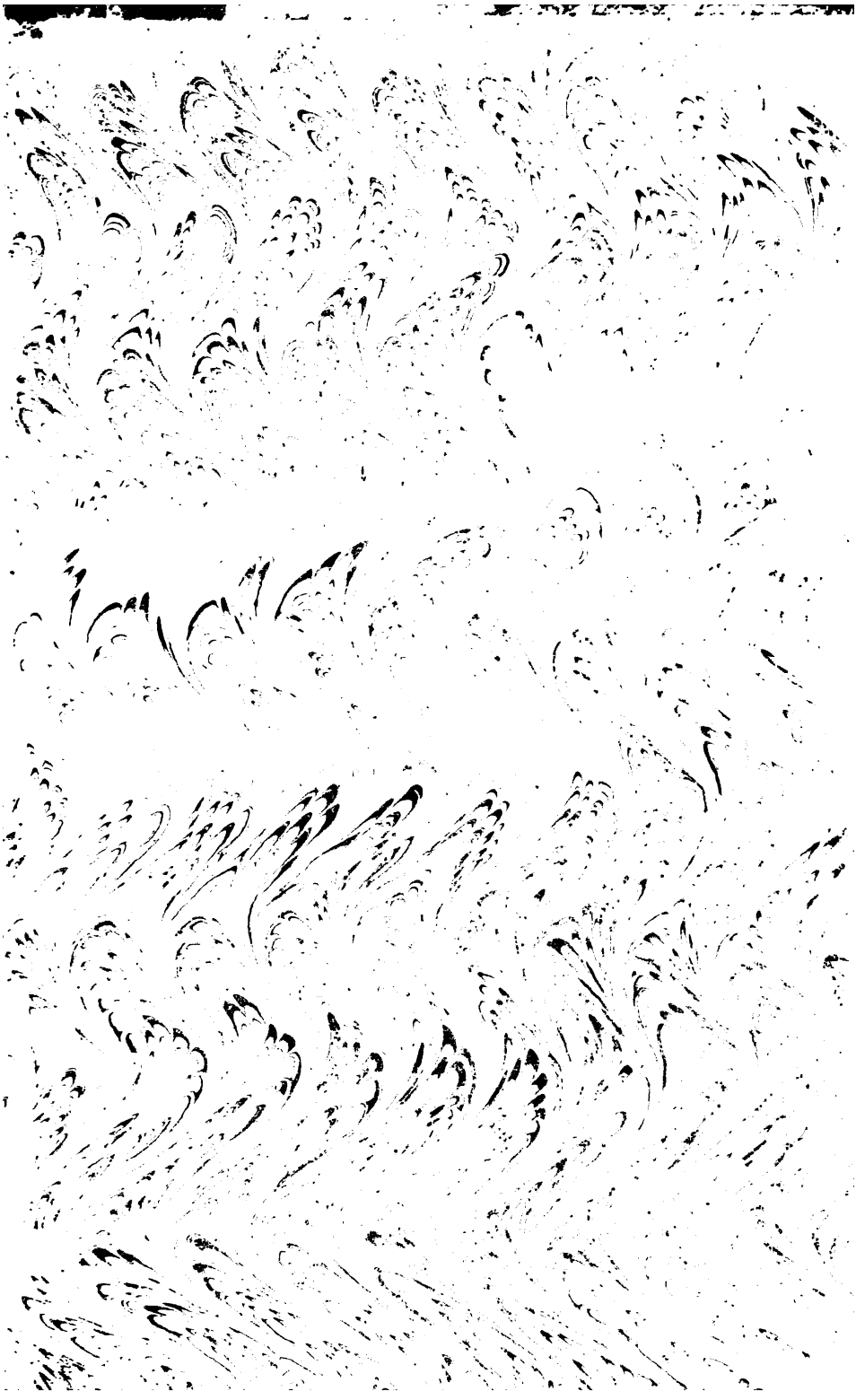
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

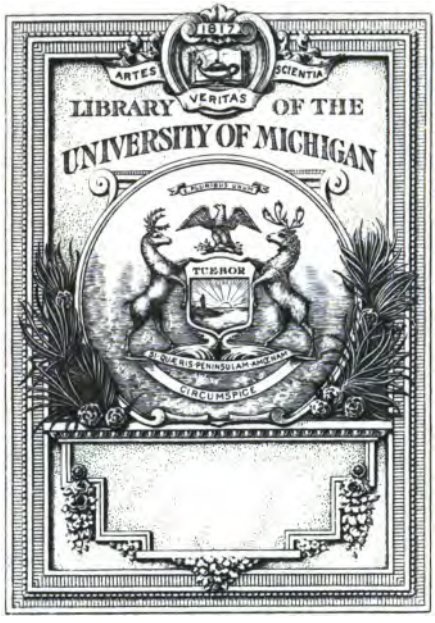
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

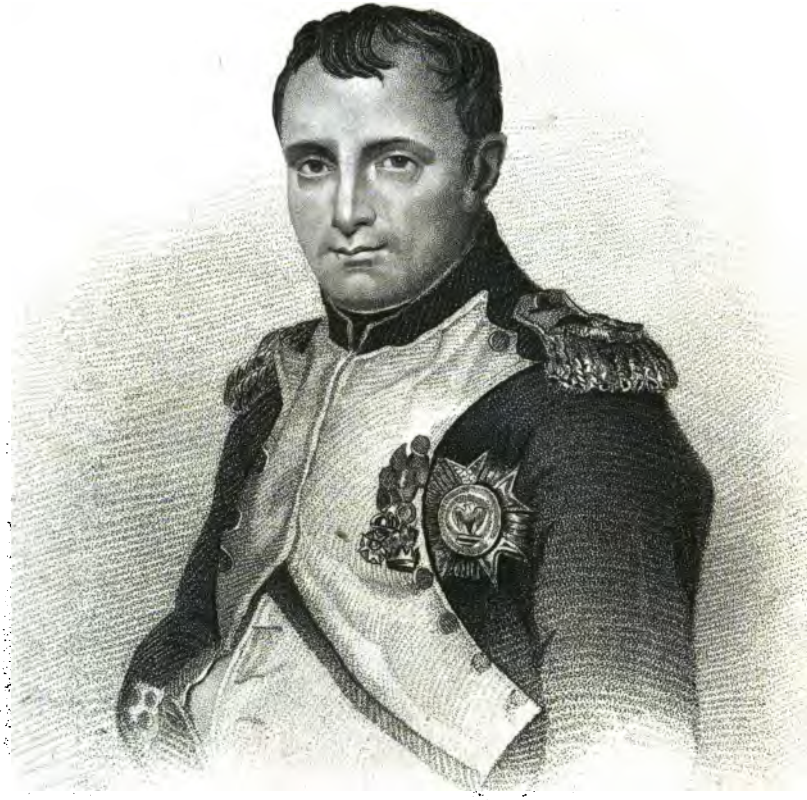

William Hetherington
HIS BOOK
"And please return it. You may think it a strange request, but I find that although many of my friends are poor arithmeticians, they are nearly all of them good bookkeepers."—Scott.





GIFT OF ORLA B. TAYLOR
A.B. 1886, LL.B. 1887,
LL.D. 1933

DC
203
.L12
1827



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

London, Published by G. Virtue, 26, Ivy Lane 1827.

UNIV. OF

MEMOIRS

OF THE

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE;

WITH

COPIOUS HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES,

FROM THE MS. OF COUNT LABEDOYERE,

INTERSPERSED WITH EXTRACTS FROM

M. V. ARNAULT, COUNTS RAPP, MONTHOLON, LAS CASES GOURGAUD, SEGUR, &c.

PRECEDED BY

AN INTERESTING ANALYSIS

OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

"VERITAS SIMPLEX ORATIO EST."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

London:

PUBLISHED BY GEORGE VIRTUE, 26, IVY-LANE,
PATERNOSTER-ROW;
BATH-STREET, BRISTOL; AND ST. VINCENT STREET, LIVERPOOL.

AND SOLD BY JONES & CO. ACTON PLACE, KINGSLAND ROAD; FISHER, SON, & CO.
NEWGATE STREET; AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1827.

Perla B Taylor
1-20-42
2 vols.

PREFACE.

No sooner has the eager and inquiring traveller set foot on the interesting soil of Egypt, than his mind's eye is instinctively directed to the far-famed pyramids. The novel manners and customs which he observes at Grand Cairo, appear as secondary considerations only; he pants to behold the sandy desart, whither he proceeds with a palpitating heart, wholly absorbed in contemplating the wonders which there await him. On approaching those stupendous vestiges of antiquity, the feelings of every stranger are more or less worked upon, as the colossal fabrics enlarge upon his view; and when arrived in their vicinity, every faculty becomes, as it were, stupefied at the immensity of the labour performed by human hands. If such are the sentiments that pervade our intellect, as regards inanimate masses, the same operation takes place when we contemplate the mighty efforts of genius predominating in the frame of a fellow creature; nor is the astonishment less awakened, by copiousness of intellect, than the towering edifice reared by art, or the magnificent Alpine steeps produced by the sublime operations of nature.

01-22-42 GC4

In such a light may be considered the character of Napoleon Bonaparte, whose fertile and rapid genius was created to embrace those extremes of mental grandeur which produced a series of actions unparalleled in the history of the world. Volumes have been issued from the press, to record the deeds of pretended great men, whose entire lives were rendered remarkable only by a single trait, that would form a very scanty episode compared with the prodigious achievements accomplished by the subject of the present undertaking. How many pages, therefore, must the pen of History

dedicate to inscribe the annals of this mighty genius, whose destiny was linked with that of the French people, rendered conspicuous, under the title of *The Great Nation*, by a series of victories, which, while they influenced the political movements extending to both hemispheres, confounded his very enemies by mingled sentiments of admiration and terror. Already have celebrated writers, indiscreet diplomatists, faithful attendants, and courtiers, become voluntary exiles; revealed the major part of the acts that characterise Napoleon's teeming life, both political and private: biographical notices, memoirs, and pamphlets, have succeeded one another with such rapidity, that from amidst this chaos of exaggeration, enthusiasm, and calumny, it may naturally be inferred an ardent desire is cherished to ascertain, as speedily as possible, the entire truth, without any alloy of hatred or flattery.

While the traces of Bonaparte's ambition were still apparent in Europe, from Saragossa to the frigid climes of Moscow, it is but reasonable to imagine, that the remembrance of so many recent events of a conflicting nature,—the result of a conqueror's passage,—should have instigated some writers to overleap the boundaries prescribed by moderation and justice. Such was the period of recriminations, and consequently of libels, whose virulence provoking replies equally imprudent in their style and tendency, gave birth to a series of apologies marked by the most flagrant inroads on consistency and candour. The time is at length arrived when, irritation having subsided, praise and reprehension enter the sage limits prescribed, and faithful History in turn assumes her wonted mastery. We may deplore those calamities which an insatiable thirst for power and conquests brought upon the enemies of France, as well as herself; we may be led to condemn, without indulgence, those acts which tarnished the brilliancy of a reign for ever memorable; and, while advocating the cause of morality and freedom, we may deprecate the excesses of despotism, however splendid the veil by which they are enveloped, as being no more than the accomplishment of an imperious and sacred duty. But, in order that such duty may

be fully accomplished, it becomes equally necessary that we should recognise the profound and immense capacity of that being, whose deeds it would have been preferable to witness more frequently connected with useful operations, than flourishing amidst the ruins and devastations of war We must not, however, consider as exclusively destructive, the activity of that conqueror, whose triumphs bequeathed to the vanquished, as a reward for the momentary ruin of their territories, the first germs of those liberal ideas, which have since been propagated in so many of the countries that became subject to his imperial sway. Such was indeed the destiny of Napoleon, who, obstinately bent on subduing the principles and effects which had originated in the counter-revolution of France, disseminated as it were in his proper person,—enthroned upon the chariot of victory,—from the Tagus to the Berezina, those very institutions, which he flattered himself were stifled by his own efforts in the country to which they owed their birth. By uniformly associating the youthful soldiery of France, reared amidst revolutionary doctrines, with the populations of foreign countries allied to France by conquests, Bonaparte actually founded colonies for the propagation of constitutional sentiments; and the cry of "Liberty!" manifested in Spain, Italy, Germany, and even in the wilds of Russia, must, in a great measure, be attributed to the presence, for a longer or shorter duration, of the banners of the Republic and the Empire, which floated amidst the inhabitants of those territories. Napoleon, doubtless, never conceived a similar idea, and much less foresaw that such would prove the results of his glorious campaigns; as in many instances he challenged the gratitude of subdued monarchs, for having illumined the flame of that volcano which threatened their annihilation, and when at St. Helena deprecated their conduct by exclaiming,—"They have let loose against me, that which I retained against themselves! They will witness the termination!" But, when duly weighing the character of this wonderful potentate, while we uniformly call to mind the evils his policy entailed upon Europe,—independently of the intentions and the aims proposed, sometimes praiseworthy,

which it is but reasonable and just we should accord him,—why, at the same time, may we not be allowed to take into the account that mighty influence he produced on the destiny of nations,—and the happy, nay, involuntary and unlooked-for consequences, which followed the occupation of the Continent by his numerous armies?

Among the many writers, those at least whose opinions possess any degree of merit, not one has had the temerity to refuse Napoleon a just claim to the title of a Great Man; a name which was even accorded to him by that prince who stood forward his competitor for the throne. This sterling title, however, does not conceal those faults which sullied its possessor, more particularly when we call to mind, that he was not satisfied with such an enviable name, but aspired to become the occupant of that throne, which he emphatically denominated *a block of gilt wood;* after acquiring the laurel of fame, for ever blooming and unperishable, the recompence of brilliant genius. If, therefore, Napoleon raised the glory of France to its loftiest pinnacle, he was no less the oppressor of her liberties; and in justification for such conduct, it was by no means sufficient to oppose, by way of an equivalent, the most stupendous works of art, and those prodigies of military glory, which are uniformly attached to the deeds of an illustrious and despotic conqueror. It cannot be denied that Scipio, when accused of having placed to his own account wealth belonging to the state, was satisfied by answering,—"On such a day I vanquished the enemies of Rome,—let us repair to the Capitol, and offer thanks to the Gods!" Scipio was a very bad accomptant!

In the progress of the following pages, our uniform study has been to escape the shoals and quicksands which have too frequently assailed those writers who have preceded us. Conceiving that the interests of society should rank paramount to every other consideration, not excepting the memory of that extraordinary man who endeavoured to circumscribe the State itself within the limits of his own person, or the glory and celebrity of those figuring under him, who were distinguished by brilliant actions; we have, therefore,

unreservedly extolled every thing invested with the stamp of general utility, and consigned to opprobrium such deeds as appear to have been the results of personal cupidity or ambition. Fully impressed with admiration, as regards the vigorous sallies of genius, even in its erratic flights, we have nevertheless experienced regret, in not having uniformly found it in the paths of utility and justice; and therefore felt the absolute necessity of condemning its influence, as instrumental in seeking to disseminate warfare between unsullied glory and the sacred cause of freedom.

Such is the light in which we have contemplated the life and actions of Napoleon Bonaparte, throughout the following sheets; in the course of which, independent of the MS. of Count Labedoyére, our attention has been directed to the authentic and approved labours of Las Cases, Montholon, Gourgaud, Rapp, Segur, Arnault, &c., from whose pages are extracted all the prominent features of Bonaparte's career, from the time of his birth to the end of the imperial dynasty on the plains of Waterloo.

At the above epoch closes our reference to the several authorities above specified; after which we introduce the hero in a domestic point of view, by a detail of his private sentiments and feelings, in respect to every event wherein he was engaged; being the account of Barry O'Meara, Esq. officiating surgeon for the Ex-Emperor, which popular work, entitled, *Napoleon in Exile, or a Voice from Saint Helena*, constitutes the sequel of the present publication.

It would be superfluous to comment on the contents of the production in question, which has been honoured by a sale almost unprecedented, and the sanction of every friend to consistency and truth; in short, on perusal of Mr. O'Meara's work, we become intimate associates with Napoleon, by a familiar interchange of the communications incidental to ordinary society; wherefore, in reference to Bonaparte, on perusing the "Voice from Saint Helena," the reader may exclaim with Terence:

"Homo sum et humani a me nil alienum puto."

At no period did Bonaparte shine forth to greater advan-

tage, than during the melancholy years of his cruel captivity; if he appeared grand during his conquests, he became sublime, when condemned to exile; and cold must be the heart that cannot sympathise with the being, who, although a constant prey to the canker worm of grief, smothered, like the dauntless Spartan youth, the gnawing anguish of which he died an isolated victim.

In the progress of our pages, the reader will find condensed a succinct but faithful narrative of every feature that occurred during the portentous reign of Napoleon. Perfection is not the attribute of man, in the ordinary course of society; much less can it be expected during the life of one crowned by unprecedented prosperity. As far as our limits admit, the present sheets will be found to detail every principal event of the hero's life, in the progress of which we endeavour, as much as possible, to seize the idea, and retrace every moral situation connected with the growth and ruin of his fortunes.

The rapid sale of the several productions relative to Bonaparte's career, prompted this undertaking, which we confidently trust will be regarded as an impartial history of that renowned monarch,—the glory of whose name occupied the close of the eighteenth, and continued to resound during the first years of the nineteenth century. A celebrity, so calculated to interest every class of readers, led the writer to imagine that the present labour, notwithstanding the works already extant, might not prove wholly useless; and the result has been, the ensuing delineation of the annals of Napoleon Bonaparte, that great colossus of power and glory; in the course of which, the writer's grand attempt is to expunge from his pages every incident unsanctioned by truth, as well as to discard those assertions dictated by malice and hatred, wherewith writers, to the present day, have more or less disfigured his illustrious character.

"La criaillerie ordinaire fait qu'on s'y accoutume,
et que chacun la meprise."

MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAP. I.

State of France in 1787, and first Revolutionary symptoms—Assembly of the Notables—The Parliament of Paris, States General, and Cour Pleniere—*Necker's Administration—The National Assembly convened, and adjournment to a Tennis Court—First Insurrections, and Reduction of the Bastille—Removal of Louis XVI. from Versailles, and Flight of the Royal Family to Varennes—Constituent Assembly—Treaty of Pilnitz—Massacre by the Septembriseurs—Retreat of the Duke of Brunswick—Trial and Decapitation of Louis XVI.—The Reign of Terror—Death of Marat—Danton and his colleagues guillotined—Recapture of Toulon—Overthrow of Robespierre and his sanguinary Faction—Bonaparte the enemy of anarchy.*

It must be universally allowed, that no period of French history is so replete with incident, as the annals of the eventful Revolution, the first germs of which burst forth in 1787. As the general overthrow of the monarchy opened a path for every aspiring genius, it was to that momentous crisis Bonaparte was indebted for his subsequent career of fame. Under this impression, we conceive it indispensably requisite to annex a cursory detail of that grand political eruption, which is rendered peculiarly necessary, as the early deeds of Napoleon have been blended with sanguinary events and public characters, who only blazon the page of history, to show the extent of depravity of which the human heart may be susceptible.

Instead of figuring as a revolutionist, Bonaparte was, on the contrary, an avowed foe to anarchy and the reign of terror; he entered upon the theatre of life, when all before him was ruin and devastation. The throne lay prostrate in the dust;—the mild radiance of Christianity was shrouded by the ensanguined veil of Atheism;—while the scaffold, drenched with gore, offered up, as incense to the Most High, the death groans of mangled innocence and unsullied virtue.

Such was the state of France, when Bonaparte issued from the trammels of a public seminary, befriended by few, and boasting no fortune, save that colossal mind which paved the way to victory, to empire, and unperishable fame.

The last shocks of the revolutionary volcano, which were lulled to rest by Napoleon, owed their birth, or rather manifested strong symptoms of an approaching eruption, at the period of the first assembly of Notables, in 1787. The event in question may be regarded as the primary step towards a representative system:—the lightning—precursor of that revolutionary thunder whose ravages were so destructive, and the last effort of which terrible phenomenon was destined to cease when Bonaparte reared his ægis. It was then he governed the motion of Fortune's revolving wheel, with which he performed the eventful journey of glory.

On the 22d of February, 1787, was convened the assembly of Notables, being the first meeting of that description since the year 1626, when they were convoked by cardinal Richlieu, for the purpose of enhancing his credit. The intent of those assemblies was simply to offer the monarch advice, on such questions as the ministry thought it expedient to propose. The measure, therefore, adopted by Louis the Sixteenth, was the first homage paid, in the eighteenth century, to the principle of allowing publicity in acts of the administration. The princes, the higher classes of the clergy and nobility, the King's counsellors, the parliamentary deputies, as well as the magistrates of some leading municipalities, assembled at Versailles, to the number of 137, *to devise measures for ameliorating the burthened revenues of the state, and ensure their complete liberation.* Upon that occasion, it became manifest there was a deficit of one hundred and forty millions, in which sum were comprised the reimbursements already expired, as well as the extraordinary and current expenditures.*

* Nothing could exceed the ruinous state of the French finances at the period in question, being the result of long and expensive wars, coupled with the profligate extravagance of the court during the two preceding reigns. The proximate symptoms of a revolution had long

The controller general, M. de Calonne, was dismissed, having proved one of the most immoral and, at the same time, frivolous ministers France had ever witnessed; he was replaced by Lomenie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, subsequently primate of Sens, and ultimately cardinal. The Notables, who had displayed so much opposition to Calonne, broke up in May, amongst whom figured the marquis de la Fayette, lieutenant-general, who had proposed the suppression of *Lettres de Cachet*, the complete emancipation of the Protestants, and a meeting of a general assembly of the national deputies. In the month of August following, Brienne was chosen prime minister, and a royal sitting of the Parisian parliament, otherwise denominated *Lit de Justice*, (Bed of Justice,) was held at Versailles; in the course of which, great reforms were voted in the civil and military departments of the state; and, on the 18th of December, Louis the Sixteenth announced that a meeting of the States General should take place after the lapse of five years.

In February of 1788, the ancient practice of preparatory torture in criminal cases was abrogated; and, on the 8th of May following, a Supreme Court, established under the name of *Cour Pleniere*, commenced its sittings, when public curiosity was greatly excited, in order to ascertain what steps the government would pursue under the pressure of existing circumstances. During the meeting of that assembly, the house of parliament was surrounded by two regiments, consisting of French and German guards, in order to intimidate the members, who were not, however, awed into compliance, but, on the contrary, had mattresses conveyed into the hall, that they might enjoy repose at night, being determined that their sittings should continue permanent. The severe comments passed on the new constitution, of which the *Cour Pleniere*, or ancient council, formed a part,

been foreseen by men of reasoning faculties; in addition to this, the countless philosophical productions which had, and still continued to inundate France, teeming with the speculative ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, &c. inflamed the public mind, which became ripe for any attack that might be levelled at the royal prerogative.

whose functions were to pass judgment in the last appeal, produced such an effect, that Lamoignon, one of the principal framers of the new code, put a period to his existence. At length, it being judged necessary either to withdraw the armed force, or compel it to act, orders were issued to the commandant to force the doors of the Chamber, and arrest the members of the *Cour Pleniere*, when the president and seven of his colleagues were seized and sent to different prisons.

In August, Brienne retired from office, with a revenue, in benefices and pensions, of 800,000 francs, having proved a statesman possessing the most ambitious views, with means wholly inadequate to carry those plans into effect; while the short-lived credit he had enjoyed was to be attributed to the female sex. The next individual called to office was the celebrated Necker, of Geneva, who had been financier from 1777 to 1781, during which period he displayed abilities of the first-rate order, coupled with unimpeachable integrity. This dangerous office, under the ominous posture of affairs, was only accepted by Necker on condition that the States General should be forthwith assembled, instead of waiting five years, as previously stipulated by the King; a measure that gave universal satisfaction, and the new minister was in consequence regarded as the destined preserver of the state.

At the close of August, the first popular movement was manifested, on which occasion the effigy of Brienne was burned at the base of the statue of Henry IV. and on the 27th of the same month, the military were compelled to fire on the mutineers, when some ringleaders were seized and put to death; but a pardon, too leniently accorded to many others, already displayed the weakness of government.

On the 12th of December, the sittings of the second Assembly of the Notables closed; and on the 5th of May, 1789, the meeting of the memorable States General took place at Versailles, after having been suspended one hundred and seventy-five years, that is to say, from 1614. This assembly was composed of the three orders of the Nobility, Clergy,

and *Tiers Etat*, or third class, being the Representatives of the Commons; who, fully aware that the two former orders would treat them with marked contumely, were predetermined to exert their prerogatives, and repel such contempt by a demonstration of similar feeling. The King had announced, on the first of the month, that upon the ensuing day he should receive the deputies by their respective orders, *separately*, in the *Salon d' Hercule*, preparatory to their meeting in general assembly on the 5th; and, in consequence, the Clergy were presented at eleven, the Nobility at one, and the *Tiers Etat* at four o'clock in the afternoon. Having met upon the 5th, the deputies of the third order being assembled in the Common Hall, after much debating, towards the close of evening, came to the following decision: *That the Representatives of the Clergy and Nobility should unite with them, and proceed to verify their respective powers.*

On the following day, the deputies of the Third State attended in vain for the Representatives of the Clergy and Nobility, during which time the latter assemblies resolved, *that their respective powers should be verified and legitimatized by each order separately.* The popular party, on the other hand, maintained that all deliberations, and more particularly the verification of their powers, ought to take place in presence of the three orders, without which verification the representatives of the people had no acknowledged character.

We are the more particular on this head, as it thus appears, that on the second day of meeting, the Commons were at issue with the two higher orders, whence may be, in some measure, dated the fatal hostility which produced the downfall of royalty, and all the accumulated horrors that ensued.

On the 17th, the Commons declared themselves the only legitimate re-union, as there should exist no negative power between the throne and that assembly; and, in consequence, they assumed the name of *The National Assembly;* and, under that title, immediately began to act. On the 20th, the portals of the hall allotted for the meeting of the Third State having been closed by superior orders, Bailly, who

assisted as president, adjourned the members to a Tennis Court in St. Francis Street, Versailles, where *a solemn oath was sworn, never to separate until they should have procured a Constitution for France;* the terms of the oath being as follow. "*We promise and swear, to fulfil with zeal and fidelity the functions wherewith we are charged, and never to separate but in the event of death.*"

On the 24th and 25th, one hundred and fifty-one ecclesiastics, and forty-seven of the nobility, formed a coalition with the Commons, among the latter of whom was the Duke of Orleans; and, on the 27th, *the States General* and *National Assembly*, invited by Louis XVI. repaired to the chamber of the latter, which formed the coalition of the three orders.*

The royal party soon discovered that the liberal sentiments which existed were daily gaining ground, and the first proof of insubordination was manifested on the 30th, when the Parisians forced the prison of l'Abbayé Saint Germain, in order to deliver some French guards, who had been incarcerated for insubordination. From the 2d to the 9th of July, bodies of troops, mostly foreigners, were quartered in the environs of Versailles and Paris, and placed under the orders of Marshal Broglie. Those measures created much dissatisfaction, the people became alarmed, and particularly the French soldiery, who were secretly incited to revolt by the factious; while the Court, guided by incertitude, precipitancy, or effeminate proceedings, was incapable of pursuing any determinate measures to prevent the growing evil.

On the 11th, a revolution broke out among the ministry, the King's Council being divided; some, alarmed at the prevailing symptoms of liberty, demanded the intervention

* The most remarkable personages who figured in this assembly, denominated *The Constituent*, were *Count Mirabeau—Cazales—Abbé Maury*, afterwards Cardinal—*Count Clermont Tonnerre—Barnave—Mounier Malouet—Lally Tollendal—Abbé Montesquieu—Tronchet*, who afterwards pleaded the cause of Louis at the bar—*Target—Chapelier—Abbé Sieyes*, (who voted the king's death,) director, consul in 1799, &c.—*Talleyrand Perigord—Abbé Gregoire*—The *Duke de Rochefoucauld—Languinais—Volney*, the famous writer—*Bailly—De la Fayette*, deputy in 1808, &c.—*Bergasse*, advocate, &c. &c.

of the military, while others opposed the measure. Louis the Sixteenth, on that occasion, followed the advice of the former; but, as in every subsequent instance, instead of taking an active part, and appearing on horseback among the troops, he displayed a want of energy that paralysed the efforts of his most strenuous advocates. At this inauspicious juncture, the Prince de Lambesc, a nobleman of impetuous feelings, at the head of a corps of German and Swiss horse, forced the entrance of the garden of the Tuileries, determined to disperse the crowd of malcontents. A trumpeter, employed to proclaim the prince's will, conceiving himself insulted by an elderly man, rode back and acquainted his commander that he had been impeded in his duty; when Lambesc, riding up at full speed, struck the offender with his sword. However trifling such an act may appear, it was, nevertheless, productive of the most fatal consequences;—the populace cried "to arms!" "that innocent citizens were to be butchered by foreign mercenaries," &c.; when the result was, the barriers of the capital being simultaneously besieged, thrown down, and totally destroyed, Paris becoming a complete scene of war, crowded by those unlicensed vagabonds, who, having nothing to lose, are uniformly the first to appear in times of popular commotion, for the purpose of enriching themselves by the plunder of the honest and peaceable inhabitants.

During that session of confusion the tocsin was rung, when the deputies of the States proceeded to the Mansion House, in order to form, on the instant, a Parisian militia, when 48,000 names were registered in one day, those persons being speedily constituted into battalions and companies, upon which occasion, the General Assembly adopted the *blue-and-red cockade*. Such was the first act of public authority constituting a national force; and, on the 16th, Louis approved of the levy being thenceforward denominated *The National Guard*.*

* It was the famous corps in question that was recently disbanded by Charles the Tenth, at Paris, since which, M. Comte, one of the editors of the *Censeur* newspaper, and author of a Treatise on Legisla-

On the 14th, the popular fermentation increased in a most alarming degree; couriers from the court of Versailles were stopped; and a prodigious concourse repaired to the Hotel of the Invalids, and demanded the delivery of their cannon and arms to the multitude, which was refused, when 30,000 muskets and 20 pieces of artillery were carried off by force. A report being then spread, that a great depôt of arms was to be found in the Bastille, the populace repaired thither, who, having forwarded a deputation of forty citizens to M. de Launay, scarcely were they admitted to the court-yard of that fortress, when the sound of a discharge of musketry was heard without. The fury of the revolters then knew no bounds; the gates were forced, the chains of the drawbridge severed by discharges of cannon balls, and the Governor dragged to the Place de Greve, being subjected to the most insulting conduct, where himself and the Major of the prison were massacred; after which, their heads, affixed to the ends of pikes, surmounted by labels, were triumphantly carried through the streets of the city. On the night of that eventful day, M. Flesselles, *prevot des marchands*, generally supposed to have connived at the proceedings of the court, on quitting the Mansion House, was struck, on the steps, by a bullet, discharged from a pistol, and instantly torn in pieces; when his head, like the former two, was paraded in every quarter of Paris.*

The National Assembly, then sitting at Versailles, was informed of the proceedings at Paris, by means of a messenger, before the Court was aware of the insurrection. No sooner, however, had Louis XVI. ascertained the fact, than

tion, has published a very elaborate and interesting history of the *Garde National de Paris*.

* On entering that famous state prison, the charge of which was confided to the militia of Paris, care was taken to liberate immediately those confined within its walls; when the surprise of the conquerors was great, on finding that only seven individuals had been detained. Their names were, *Bechade, La Caurege, La Roche*, and *Puzade*, fabricators of false bills of exchange; the *Count de Solages*, imprisoned at the desire of his father, for disorderly conduct; and *Tavernier*, with an Irishman named *White*, men of obscure origin, the cause of whose incarceration was unknown.

he had recourse to clemency rather than force, fully aware that oceans of blood must be shed, if arms were resorted to.

On the 16th, Necker was recalled, when the other ministers, who had been appointed only five days previous, were dismissed. The Count d'Artois, however, now Charles X., and the Prince of Conde, of the blood royal, with a long train of nobility, being apprehensive of danger from the popular fury that was awakened, passed the frontiers of France; so that there only remained near the royal person, Monsieur, the king's brother, afterwards Louis XVIII., his sister, Madame Elizabeth, with Marie Antoinette, his queen, and the two children. Louis having returned to Paris on the following day (17th), accompanied by a hundred deputies of the Assembly, repaired to the Mansion House, where he was welcomed by the acclamations of the multitude, and received with due respect by the newly-constituted authorities. Louis then accepted the red-and-blue cockade, being the colours of the city of Paris, and his appearance seemed to have completely appeased the troubles which had reigned.

During the calm that succeeded, the National Assembly occupied itself in passing numerous salutary laws, which received the royal sanction; when, on the 2d of October, a scene occurred that tended to awaken all the popular rage against the Court. The king's body guard, and the officers of the regiment of Flanders, were stationed at Versailles, who very unadvisedly thought fit to assemble at a banquet, where, in order to manifest their veneration for the royal family, the cockade adopted by the king and the nation was trampled under foot; the enthusiasm of the party becoming still more unbounded on the appearance of the queen, who very indiscreetly presented herself in the saloon. This scene was speedily made public, and greatly exaggerated, particularly at Paris, where declaimers in the streets, and demagogue pamphleteers found a fresh pretext for exciting tumult. The king, alarmed at the fermentation that threatened the safety of the capital, and at the same time pressed by the Assembly, accepted the nineteen articles of the Constitution

decreed with the Rights of Man. For some time previous, the unsettled state of the public mind had prompted numerous wealthy families to absent themselves from Paris, whereby the working classes were deprived of that succour which results from the expenditure of the opulent; in addition to which, the distributions on the part of the clergy had ceased, and labour was at a stand still; bread also became scarce, was of a bad quality, and very dear, notwithstanding the plentiful harvest that had been got in. Whether this arose from a monopoly on the part of speculators, or was effected by wealthy evil-disposed persons, anxious to hasten the dreadful catastrophe, it is difficult to determine; the latter result, however, speedily ensued, as the wants of the people hastened the terrible crisis, which became every day more alarming, and at length broke out in fell array on the 5th and 6th of October.

All classes of the lowest orders, inhabiting the suburbs of Saints Anthony and Marceau, with the dregs of the population in the vicinity of the Place de Greve, repaired, *en masse*, to the Mansion House, demanding bread, and death to the aristocrats; at the same time exacting that the council of the Municipality should repair to Versailles, whither, at an early hour, the multitude, consisting of the refuse of the female sex as well as the males, bent their course, with every demonstration of unbridled fury; while, at the close of the day, the National Guard also set forwards, headed by its commander in chief, La Fayette.

As the first masses of the population of Paris arrived at the grand avenue of Versailles, Louis XVI. plunged in security, notwithstanding the indications received, was enjoying the pleasures of the chace in the environs of Meudon. He returned in haste, on learning the actual state of affairs, and ordered the guards, who kept the mob in check, to fall back into the court-yard, and then return to their quarters; a lenient measure, which only tended to embolden the insolent rabble; added to which, the body guard, when assailed, received orders not to defend themselves, wherefore,

according to the most moderate computation, twelve were put to death, and literally torn in pieces. By ten at night, La Fayette and the National Guard arrived, and tranquillity seemed restored; at day-break, however, some cut-throats, of the most determined character, gained admittance to the palace, where they roamed through the galleries and chambers, uttering imprecations against the queen; on which occasion, two of the body guards, on duty near her apartment, were butchered, while the resistance of others allowed Marie Antoinette time to escape, half undressed, from the daggers of the assassins. On hearing the tumult, the National Guard, with an ardour and resolution that must ever redound to its honour, proceeded to repulse the blood-stained assailants, and restore order among those emissaries of crime. The mob, however, could not be prevailed upon to retrace their steps to the capital, until they had heard the king, from a balcony of the palace, promise, on the ensuing day, to repair to the capital, and there take up his abode. At one o'clock, therefore, the following day, Louis set forward with his family, and arrived at the Hotel de Ville, where he alighted, amidst the acclamations of the Parisian populace.

On the 6th of November was formed the famous society entitled Friends of the Constitution, subsequently changed to the Jacobin Club, the baleful influence of which was the source of all the calamities witnessed during the succeeding years. At the beginning of February, the king promised to defend constitutional liberty, when every member of the Assembly swore *to remain faithful to the nation, the laws, and the king, and maintain, to the utmost of his ability, the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by his majesty.*

The *Noblesse* were suppressed, and every exterior mark of aristocracy abolished, on the 19th of June, 1790, and on the 14th of the ensuing month was celebrated, with infinite pomp, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille; a festival, denominated "The Federation," which

took place in the Champ de Mars, where a grand mass was performed by Talleyrand Perigord, then bishop of Autun, who subsequently figured so conspicuously under the Napoleon dynasty.

Necker, at the beginning of September, retired from office and his political career, having three times filled the post of Minister of Finance, being followed by the retreat of the majority of the king's advisers. Nothing material transpired during the residue of 1790; and, on the 2d of April, in the following year, died the famous Count Mirabeau, as it is supposed, from the effects of poison administered by the Jacobins.

We now come to that momentous period of the Revolution, which first witnessed the appearance of Maximilian Robespierre, who, on the 19th of June, was appointed public accuser of the Criminal Tribunal of Paris; and, from the 21st to the 25th, occurred the flight of Louis XVI. and his arrest at Varennes. Thus terminated an enterprise too slowly undertaken, badly contrived, and miserably executed, the success of which would, most probably, have prevented those countless calamities which immediately followed. It was equally on the night of the 21st, that Monsieur (Louis XVIII.) effected his escape from Paris, after advocating his brother's cause as long as his presence could console him in his misfortunes, or his efforts prove available against the proceedings of the factious.

On the 27th of August, the famous interview between Leopold II. emperor of Germany, and Frederick William II. of Prussia, took place at Pilnitz, whither had fled the ex-minister Calonne, and the Marquis de Bouillé. On that occasion, the famous document was issued, purporting that the monarchs in question bound themselves to coalesce, and, if necessary, by force of arms compel the French people to restore to their monarch those prerogatives of which they had despoiled him.

The Constituent Assembly closed its famous sittings on the 30th of September, after the session had continued for

twenty-eight months, during which period it had sanctioned two thousand five hundred laws or decrees, while, at the present period, there are not twenty-five in vigour; and, on the 1st of the ensuing month, was held the first sitting of the second National Assembly, denominated *Legislative*. The famous decree against the emigrants, after several days discussion, was passed on the 9th, which, when presented to the king, he refused to ratify, and addressed a second proclamation to the nobility, inviting them to return to their country.

Austria and Prussia, by a treaty ratified at Berlin, the 7th of February, 1792, entered into a defensive alliance for the suppression of the troubles reigning in France and Poland, those monarchs being speedily after joined by Russia; while, on the 9th, the property of the emigrants was sequestrated by a revolutionary edict; and, three days after, a deputation of the rabble of Paris, wearing red night-caps, as emblematical of Liberty, armed with pikes, and styling themselves Jacobins, or *Sans-Culottes*, presented themselves to felicitate the Assembly on its prosperous labours.

War was declared against France, on the 20th of April, when the French armies were confided to the commands of Luckner, La Fayette, and Rochambeau; and, on the 20th of June, the dreadful insurrection took place, fomented by the Girondists, being the last fatal day for royalty.*

The first continental coalition against France was ratified, and the manifesto of the King of Prussia published on

* On that momentous occasion, the king, surrounded by his family, boldly encountered the infuriate multitudes, braving the pikes levelled at his breast, in his own palace of the Tuileries, and replying, with stoic calmness, to the volleys of vulgar and obscene abuse vomited against himself and his consort; while cries of "*Down with the Veto!*" "*Sanction the decrees!*" "*Recal the patriotic ministers!*" and "*Long live the Nation!*" reverberated through the halls and vestibules of the palace; in fine, terror reigned every where; but—whether it was that Louis had touched the hearts of those monsters by his affability, the serenity of his countenance, and the familiarity with which he adopted the red woollen night-cap presented to him, or that the chiefs of this commotion, faithful to the orders received, not to overthrow royalty on that occasion, but only vilify it—by six in the evening, the tumultuous effervescence had subsided, and the vociferations were no longer heard.

the 26th, which was followed, at the close of July, by the instrument of the Duke of Brunswick, signed at Coblentz, which ill-advised document created a general burst of indignation throughout France. The imprudent aggression of Frederick of Brunswick, coupled with his menaces, no doubt accelerated the fate of Louis XVI. as, from that moment, the Revolutionists were resolved; and the military, aware that no treaty or capitulation was to be looked for, swore, not to conquer or die, but to conquer, and desperation ensured success. On the 25th, the allied armies entered France, and the invasion terminated in the complete overthrow and disgrace of the combined forces, and their leader the Duke of Brunswick.

Pethion, the infamous mayor of Paris, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, on the 3d of August, when he accused Louis of having conspired against the people, and demanded the abolition of royalty.*

The king and his family, on the 13th, were consigned to the Temple, when those infuriate demagogues, Marat, Danton, Robespierre, &c. began their reign of blood; instituting domiciliary visits, and all those horrors that were practised under the sacred name of Liberty. From the 2d to the 6th of September, nobles, priests, females, young and old, who had been heaped indiscriminately in the prisons, were slaughtered by their inhuman butchers, called *Septembriseurs*, directed and paid by Tallien, Robespierre, and Billaud de Varennes.

* This step was, no doubt, a preconcerted measure, preparatory to the horrors of the night of the 10th, on which fatal occasion, the alarm having become general throughout Paris, the dreadful knell of the tocsin was the signal for the *Sans Culottes*. By the first gleam of day, the square of the Carrousel was crowded by multitudes from the suburbs, aided by the sanguinary Marseillois. Cannon were ranged to defend the Tuileries, the king having for his supporters some grenadier companies of the National Guard, well disposed towards the prince, but without order or rallying point, and full of mistrust; in whose rear were between five and six hundred Swiss. At five o'clock, the king reviewed his troops, and assigned them different stations, as if he really intended to defend himself. Alas! the resolution was but momentary; for Louis, attending to the baleful council of Rœderer, sought refuge in the hall of the National Assembly. Thus did the august descendant of Henry IV. gifted with all his goodness, but divested of his warlike attributes and firmness of character, voluntarily plunge into the abyss that yawned to receive him.

On the 11th of December, commenced the trial of Louis XVI. who received judgment on the 20th of January, 1793, and was decapitated the following day. The several factions of the Revolutionists then flourished in turn, each making way for its successor by being hurried to the guillotine; in which manner fell the Brissotines and Vergniauds, under the glave of Danton and Robespierre; while, on the 18th of June, perished that literary firebrand Marat, by the hand of Charlotte Corday.

The unfortunate Marie Antoinette, on the 1st of August, appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal, the members of which ordered her to be transferred from the Temple to the prison of the Conciergerie, a preparatory step to her mounting the scaffold. On the 3d of September, the queen's trial commenced, and, on the 16th of October, she was relieved from earthly suffering; which execution was speedily followed by that of her bitter persecutor Egalité, duke of Orleans, who suffered the 6th of the ensuing November.

On the 19th of December, Toulon was surrendered by the British to France, a circumstance chiefly owing to the skill of Bonaparte, as we shall have occasion to show in the regular detail of his history.

The execrable Robespierre, on the 8th of June, 1794, dared to add the most unheard-of blasphemy to his other deeds of slaughter, by appearing at a festival in the garden of the Tuileries, on which occasion he *deigned to allow the existence of a Supreme Being.* This, however, proved the climax of his iniquities; the thunder of Omnipotence, so long withheld, now gathered over his devoted head. Two days after, Bourdon de l'Oise had the courage to demand that the decree, which accorded inviolability to the members of the Conventional Assembly, should be re-established, as the seizures and executions planned by Robespierre were of such a nature, that no representative could for a certainty depend upon his personal safety for a day together. The motion was carried

before the tyrant was enabled to circumvent that proceeding, and the ensuing 27th and 28th proved the ever-memorable periods of the 9th and 10th Thermidor. On the first of those days, Couthon declared to the Convention, that, in order to save the state, the *gangrened* representatives should be disposed of whom he surveyed from the tribune. Such a conclusive attack increased the alarms throughout the Assembly, when the majority of the members, conceiving themselves proscribed, that moment proved the signal for a general rising, and Vadier, Tallien, Billaud, Freron, and others, justly affrighted, instantly denounced Robespierre as seeking to usurp the dictatorship; and cries of "*Down with the tyrant!*" resounded from every side. A decree of accusation was then proclaimed against the two Robespierres, Couthon, St. Just, and Lebas, conventionalists; Henriot, commandant of the National Guard; Dumas, president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and several others, who were declared outlaws and traitors. Henriot fled for refuge to the Hôtel de Ville, as well as his colleagues, where the whole were surrounded by Conventional troops; the latter, having forced an entrance to the chamber, where the tyrants held a consultation, on beholding two of the deputies among the guards, terror seized them, and they lost all hope. Robespierre, as cowardly as cruel, had concealed himself in one of the chambers, where he was discovered, pale and trembling; when a gendarme discharged at him two pistols, which completely shattered his under jaw, and he fell weltering in his blood. In that state he was conveyed to the Committee of Public Safety, supporting, in a white handkerchief, his dislocated jaw with the right hand. Henriot, seeking to escape, had entered a gutter of the Town House, where he encountered Coffinhal, also endeavouring to save himself; when the latter, at sight of Henriot, who had guaranteed on his head the safety of the conspirators, could not restrain his fury, but seizing Henriot round the waist, precipitated him into the square. The whole were then conveyed to the Revolu-

tionary Tribunal, whence, accompanied by his colleagues, to the number of twenty-two, he was conveyed, on the 28th of July, to the Place Louis XV. and there executed, amidst the acclamations of an immense multitude.

As a delineation of the last moments of this ferocious monster may not prove uninteresting, we subjoin the following statement of facts, as regards the death of the tyrant. On his way to the place of execution, all eyes were bent upon Robespierre, who was habited in the very coat he had worn at the festival, when he thought fit to proclaim the existence of a Supreme Being. After the cart had traversed the quays and the street St. Honoré, having proceeded halfway down the Rue Royale, the culprit was awakened from the state of stupor in which he was absorbed, by the following circumstance. A female, decently dressed, who appeared to have been waiting the arrival of the cavalcade, on perceiving the vehicle that transported Robespierre, forced a passage through the crowd, and seizing the railing of the cart, with a countenance displaying the most implacable vengeance, while her whole frame seemed convulsed by passion, she expressed herself as follows:—"Monster! monster, vomited by hell! thy execution makes me drunk with joy!" On hearing that exclamation Robespierre opened his eyes, and raised his shoulders. "Abominable monster!" continued the woman, "I only feel regret that thou hast not a thousand lives; that I might glut my soul with rapture, on viewing thee deprived of them one after another." This second apostrophe seemed to importune Robespierre, who did not however again unclose his eyes, the female still continuing beside the vehicle; which she did not abandon until it arrived close to the scaffold, when she concluded by uttering the following apostrophe. "Go, cut-throat! descend to the tomb, loaded with the imprecations of widows and the mothers of families." It is supposed, that the individual in question had been deprived of a husband or son, under the sanguinary Reign of Terror. Having gained the scaffold, Robespierre was removed from the cart, and laid upon

the ground, until his turn came to suffer decapitation; during which period, he neither opened his eyes or manifested any symptom of feeling. While being transported to the fatal engine, however, he once more unclosed his eyes, and, on beholding the instrument of death, is said to have uttered a lengthened groan; yet, previous to execution, he was doomed to undergo more anguish. The executioner, in order to increase his suffering, as it is conjectured, in a brutal manner tore away the bandages which had been applied to the disfigured visage of the culprit; when the shattered under jaw became severed from the upper, and the blood instantly gushed out in torrents, producing the most horrible and disgusting spectacle; and when the head was struck off and displayed, by the executioner, to the multitude, it presented an appearance truly terrific. Thus fell Maximilian Robespierre, who, had he lived six months longer, would have exterminated one-third of the population of France.

We have now developed with accuracy historical facts, from the year 1787 to the eventful period of the overthrow of Maximilian Robespierre, in 1794, comprehending the several changes to which the government of France was subjected, under the Notables, the National, Constituent, and Legislative Assemblies, and the Reign of Terror. As it was in the month of December of the preceding year, as before stated, that the surrender of Toulon to France was effected by the prowess of Bonaparte, we conceive sufficient insight has been given respecting the situation of France, anterior to that event; and shall, therefore, close this opening chapter, by offering some remarks, respecting the subject of our history, which we deem essential.

It has been erroneously imagined by many, that Bonaparte figured among the Revolutionists; the direct reverse is the actual fact, as will be fully demonstrated in the progress of this undertaking. We cannot, however, more ably expatiate on the present subject, than by quoting the words of that eloquent writer the Abbé de Pradt; who, speaking of Bonaparte, in reference to his entertaining Ja-

cobinical tenets, thus expresses himself. "*He* (Napoleon) the representative of the Revolution! The Revolution broke the bonds of union between France and religion; whereas *He* renewed them by his Concordat with the Pope. The Revolution created two classes of clergy hostile to each other; *He* united them. The Revolution overthrew the temples of the Almighty; *He* restored them. The Revolution profaned the cathedral of St. Denis; *He* purified the holy pile, and offered expiation to the ashes of kings. The Revolution subverted the throne; *Napoleon* raised it up again. The Revolution banished from their country the nobility of France; *He* opened for them the gates of his palaces, although fully conscious that they were his irreconcilable enemies, and for the most part inimical to the public good; while he equally re-incorporated them with that society from which they had been separated.

"This alleged *representative of a revolution* (distinguished by the epithet anti-social) invited from Rome the head of the Catholic church, to anoint his brows with the oil that consecrates diadems. This *representative of a revolution* (which has been declared hostile to sovereignty) gave Germany more kings, advanced the rank of princes, restored superior royalty, and re-constructed a defaced model. This *representative of a revolution* (condemned as a principal of anarchy,) like another Justinian, drew up, amidst the din of war and the snares of foreign policy, those codes permanently established, as presenting the least defective portion of human legislature, while he equally constructed the most vigorous machine of government in the known world. This *representative of a revolution* (vulgarly accused of having subverted all moral institutions) restored universities and public seminaries, filled his empire with the master-pieces of art, and accomplished those amazing and stupendous works, which reflect honour on human genius; and yet, in the face of the Alps, which bowed down at his command; of the ocean, subdued at Cherbourg, at Flushing, at the Helder, and at Antwerp; of rivers, smoothly flowing beneath the

bridges of Jena, Serres, Bourdeaux, and Turin; of canals, uniting seas together in a course beyond the control of Neptune's trident; finally, in the face of Paris, metamorphosed as it is by Napoleon,—*He*, yes, Bonaparte is pronounced as having been the agent of general annihilation! *He*, who restored all, is held up as the representative of universal destruction! To what undiscerning men is this language supposed to be addressed?"

CHAP. II.

The Bonapartean Family—Cardinal Fesch and Madame Bonaparte—Birth of Napoleon—Remarks on his Name—Acquirements—School of Brienne—Pichegru—Ridiculous Tales and Anecdotes of Napoleon in his Youth—Retreat at Brienne—A severe Disciplinarian—His partiality for heroic Games—Attack of a fortress of Snow, and a regiment formed of Flint-stones—Anecdotes—Estimates formed of Napoleon's Abilities by his Tutors and others—He narrowly escapes drowning—Admitted into the Artillery—Mesdames Colombier—General Paoli—Bonaparte appointed Commandant of the National Guard in Corsica—Heads an unsuccessful Expedition against Cagliari, and makes a fruitless Attack on Ajaccio—Is banished from Corsica, and embarks with his Family for France.

Carolo (Charles) Bonaparte, father of Napoleon, was the descendant of a noble family, equally with his wife Letizia Raniolini, a woman possessing remarkable beauty, coupled with the soundest judgment. He had originally been intended for the law, and cultivated his mind by studies adapted to his future profession, when, called upon by the danger of his country, he quitted the long robe for the sword, and eminently distinguished himself under Pascal Paoli. In 1769, the Genoese having ceded Corsica to France, that island was attacked by the Count de Vaux, when it surrendered; after which, Paoli, for the first time, repaired to England.

Carolo Bonaparte remained in Corsica, where he conciliated the esteem of the French, and the affection of his compatriots, by the good qualities he possessed. In 1776, Corsica having sent a deputation to the King of France, composed of personages selected from the three orders of

the States, Carolo Bonaparte, on that occasion, appeared at Versailles as deputy from the *noblesse*.* Shortly after, he was nominated judge and assessor of the tribunal of Ajaccio, and thus re-entered the career for which he had originally been intended. Educated at Rome and Pisa, it was at the latter city he studied the law, he possessed great spirit and energy; which attributes were particularly displayed on its being proposed, in the public assembly of Corsica, that the island should be subjected to France, when he delivered a speech that electrified the whole country, at which period he was not more than twenty years of age.

On the surrender of the island to the French, he was desirous of accompanying Paoli to England, but prevented by the superior influence of his uncle, the Archdeacon Lucien. There were then two French generals in Corsica, so inimical to each other, that, owing to their quarrels, two parties were formed: one of those commanders was M. De Marbeuf, of a mild character; the other, M. De Narbonne Pellet, remarkable for haughtiness and violence.

Carolo Bonaparte, when sent as deputy from the Cor-

* The people of England, in their endeavours to depreciate the character of Bonaparte, have not been sparing of their reflections upon the lowness of his origin; some having asserted that his father was a butcher, his mother a washerwoman, and that he himself commenced his military career as a common soldier. If, however, his father had really followed the trade ascribed to him, it would not be the first instance of the French choosing a new dynasty of sovereigns from such a scion; for, according to the celebrated poet Danté, it was from a similar stock the dynasty of the Capets originally sprang; as, in his twentieth canto of Purgatory, he introduces the shade of Hugues Capet, its founder, as saying, "*Figliuol fui d'un beccajo di Parigi*, (I was the son of a butcher of Paris.)" Such, however, was not the case in reference to Bonaparte, who, on the paternal side, was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Florence while a republic. The civil dissensions which then prevailed in the city, occasioned many of the noble families to emigrate from time to time, among whom was the ancestor of that branch of the Bonaparte family from which the Emperor Napoleon was descended. One of the poets of the day, tolerably skilled in heraldry, being anxious to bask in the sunshine of the emperor's favour, offered to compose a genealogy, wherein he would undertake to prove, even to the satisfaction of the most incredulous, that the Bonapartean family was descended from the kings of the Ostrogoths. "I feel infinitely obliged to you," said the emperor, "and conceive myself highly honoured by the stock whence the Bonapartes sprang; but, from this period, my lineage must only be dated from the *Eighteenth Brumaire*."

sican *noblesse* to Versailles, was consulted respecting the dispute between those two generals, and by his exertions obtained a triumph for Marbeuf; young Napoleon, then about ten years of age, having accompanied his father to Paris; on which occasion, the Archbishop of Lyons, nephew to Marbeuf, thought it his duty to wait on the deputy, and return thanks for the service he had rendered.

On young Napoleon's being placed in the military school at Brienne, the Archbishop gave him a special recommendation to the family of that name residing there, whence arose the friendly conduct of the Marbeufs towards the Bonaparte family—"Calumny has assigned another cause, to the dishonour of his mother; but the examination of dates proves its absurdity."

Marbeuf the elder, who commanded in Corsica, resided at Ajaccio, the Bonapartean family being one of the principal in that place. Madame Bonaparte possessing fascinations as well as beauty, it was very natural that the French general should frequent her house in preference to others. Carolo Bonaparte died, aged thirty-eight, at Montpelier, whither he had repaired for his health, being afflicted with an induration of the heart. When Napoleon, twenty years subsequent to the death of his father, was solicited to erect a monument to his memory, he declined, conceiving it a matter of no importance. His brother Louis, however, without the knowledge of Napoleon, caused the remains of their parent to be disinterred, and removed to St. Leu, where he paid that just tribute to his memory.

Carolo Bonaparte had not been very devout, and is said to have even written some anti-religious verses; but, at the period of his death, Napoleon observed, "there were not priests enough for him at Montpelier." In that respect, he formed a striking contrast to his brother Lucien, the Archdeacon of Ajaccio, who died at a very advanced age, surrounded by the members of his family, to whom he gave philosophic counsel and patriarchal benedictions. The archdeacon's prudence and economy re-established the affairs of

the family, which had been much deranged owing to the extravagance of his brother.

Carolo Bonaparte espoused Mademoiselle Letizia Ramolini, whose mother, after the death of her first husband, had married Captain Fesch, an officer in one of the Swiss regiments which the Genoese usually maintained on the island. Cardinal Fesch was the issue of the second marriage, and consequently step-brother to Madame Bonaparte. While the war was carried on by the Corsicans against the French, Madame Bonaparte shared the fatigues and dangers of her husband, who was an enthusiast in the cause of his country. In his different expeditions she frequently followed him on horseback, while pregnant with Napoleon. She possessed extraordinary vigour of intellect, combined with considerable pride and loftiness of spirit, and proved the mother of thirteen children, although a widow at the age of thirty.* Of those, only five boys and three girls lived, all of whom became conspicuous characters during the reign of Napoleon.

In 1767, when the Corsicans took up arms to resist the subjugation of their country by the French, who had pur-

* By far the most distinguished and interesting of the Bonapartean family, next to the hero himself, was the late venerable mother of Napoleon. Retaining great remains of the most brilliant beauty, dignified in adversity, as she was moderate in prosperity; her thoughts and feelings, for the last few years of her life, had but one object—the prisoner of St. Helena; whose pride she reproved in the days of his glory, and whose fall she lamented, more as the child of her affections, than the sovereign of a mighty empire. "We saw much of this venerable lady," says Lady Morgan, "and fancied we could trace, in her energy and force of character, the source from whence her extraordinary son had derived his talents."

Shortly after Bonaparte's elevation to the imperial throne, meeting his mother in the gardens of St. Cloud, he, half playfully, half seriously, held out his hand for her to kiss. She flung it back indignantly, and presenting her own in the presence of his suite, said, "It is your duty to kiss the hand of her who gave you life!"

"We observed," continues my authority, "on visiting this illustrious lady, pictures of all her handsome children in the room she occupied (and where we generally found her spinning, with her prayer-book beside her); there were four of them kings, when they sat for her, with the emperor, their brother, at their head; viz. the kings of Spain, Holland, Westphalia, and Naples (her son-in-law, Murat). 'You see,' she said, one day, as I was looking on Napoleon's picture, 'when my son Napoleon sat for me, I made him lay aside his crown.'"

chased the island of its old masters the Genoese, the father of Napoleon first quitted the gown for the sword, and under General Paoli, godfather to his eldest son Joseph, fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, for the liberties of Corsica.

While this contest continued, Napoleon's mother was constantly flying from town to town, to avoid the French, dreading the idea of falling into their hands. After repeated changes of place, she was delivered of Napoleon, her second son, two months subsequent to the Corsicans having given up the struggle for independence. Those who believe in the great influence which the situation of a mother produces on her offspring during pregnancy, may attribute the enterprising spirit of the son, to the restless life then led by the parent. Pius VII. was forcibly struck with the circumstance, when related to him, in 1801, by the French ambassador.*

This remarkable woman paid the debt of nature at Marseilles, towards the close of 1822. She was supported on white velvet pillows, the bed being of crimson damask, in the centre of which hung a crown decorated with flowers. She summoned her servants one after another, who, kneeling, kissed her extended hand, which was shrivelled, and covered by a profusion of rings. To the chief director of her finances, Juan Barosa, she said, "Juan, my blessing go with thee and thine."—To Maria Belgrade, her waiting-woman: "Go to Jerome, he will take care of thee; and when my grandson is emperor of France, he will make thee a great woman."—She then called Colonel Darley, who had attended her in all her fortunes, and to whom Napoleon, in his will, bequeathed £14,000. "You," said she, "have been a good friend to me and my family. I have left you what will make you happy. Never forget my grandson; what he and you may attain, is beyond my discerning; but

* On that account Madame Bonaparte was also compared to Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana, until a gentleman conveyed from England, as a present for her, an engraving of Mr. West's picture of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, showing her children as jewels. That subject, as according more strictly with her situation, occasioned her former designation as Latona to be changed to that of the MOTHER OF THE GRACCHI.

both of you will be great."—She next summoned her inferior servants, and, as their names were called over, with a pencil marked down sums to be given to each, who were dismissed; upon which she declared she had done with the world, and requested some water, in order to wash her hands, and then laid down upon her pillow. She was found dead, having her hand under her head, and a prayer-book upon her breast. Her principal heir is her grandson, who, it is said, will ultimately receive an immense fortune. To her seven children, still living, namely, Joseph, Lucien, Louis, Jerome, Eliza, Pauline, and Caroline, as well as Hortensia, daughter of Josephine, she bequeathed £37,000 sterling each, making a total of £300,000; and to her brother, Cardinal Fesch, she left a superb palace, decorated with the most splendid furniture and curiosities of every description.

Napoleon himself, speaking of his mother, during his exile in St. Helena, said, "she was a woman possessed of courage and great talent, more of a masculine than feminine nature, proud and high minded." He added, "She is capable of selling every thing, even to her *chemise*, for me. I allowed her a million a year, besides a palace, and bestowed upon her many presents. She is very rich." When visited by the Duke of Hamilton and another gentleman at Rome, in 1819, Madame Mere still displayed the remains of a fine woman; her manners were dignified and commanding, and her deportment such as people would expect to find in a queen. She saw but little company; her table was splendid though private, and devoid of all ostentation.

Joseph Napoleon, Grand Electeur, eldest of the children, was originally intended for the church, on account of the influence possessed by that firm friend of the family, Marbeuf, Archbishop of Lyons. Joseph went through the regular course of study; but when the moment arrived for taking orders, he refused to embrace the ecclesiastical profession. This personage became successively King of Naples and of Spain, and is now a citizen of the United States; he

married Miss Julia Clary, now residing at Brussels, under the name of Countess of Survilier.

The other brothers of Napoleon are, Louis, Lucien, and Jerome. The first was distinguished as Grand Constable of France, and subsequently King of Holland; but since the restoration of the Bourbons, he has assumed the title of Count St. Leu. Lucien, Napoleon used to observe, had passed a turbulent career in his youth. At the age of fifteen, he was taken to France by M. Semonville, who soon made him a zealous revolutionist and a clubbist. In consequence of his marriage, contrary to the wishes of Napoleon, as not according with his views, he forfeited a crown, and took refuge in England. He resided in Worcestershire, during a considerable period of the late war; but evinced sincere attachment to his brother, by throwing himself into his arms on his return from Elba, when his prospects were by no means so flattering as they had been at the period when Lucien quitted him. He now resides in a princely residence at Rome, to the vicinity of which he has uniformly confined himself, since his brother's final abdication after the battle of Waterloo. Jerome, the youngest, was nominated King of Westphalia in 1807, and the same year married Catherine, daughter of the King of Wirtemberg, by his first wife, Caroline of Brunswick. He now resides in the United States of America. Maria Annunciade Carolina, youngest sister of Napoleon, born March 25, 1788, married Prince Murat, afterwards King of Naples. Maria Anna Eliza, became Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Princess of Lucca and Piombino; she is since dead. And Maria Paulina, third sister, was married to Prince Borghese, Duke of Guastalla.

Napoleon was born about noon, on the 15th of August, being the day of Assumption, in the year 1769, or, according to others, in 1768. His mother, possessing great bodily energy, wished to attend mass, on account of the solemnity of the day, when, being taken ill during the service, she was delivered on her return home, ere she could be conveyed to her chamber. The child, as soon as born, was placed on

the carpet, an old-fashioned article, representing at full length the heroes of fabulous history, such having been the earliest stage of Napoleon's infancy.

M. V. Arnault, speaking of the birth of Napoleon, observes, "Whether this occurred on the 5th of February, 1768, or on the 15th of August, 1769, is a question that has already been agitated, and to which some persons affect to attach importance; it is, however, one of the least interesting in his history. As we cannot thence deduce any solid conclusions, we do not think it necessary to bestow any labour in its investigation. Napoleon, it is said, in pretending to be eighteen months younger than he really was, sought to establish himself as being by birth a Frenchman. Corsica did not belong to France, neither was reputed as forming part of the kingdom till the month of June, 1769. Napoleon, who was endowed with a mind eminently just, could never imagine his end would be attained by such an ineffectual alteration. Was he to be informed, that of all the circumstances tending to give him the character of a Frenchman, the date of his birth was the least essential, as children uniformly belong to the country of their parents; and therefore he could be no other than a Corsican, even subsequent to the re-union of that island with France, being born of a Corsican father and mother? It is in the annals of his life, and not his birth, we must look for his titles of naturalisation. If, during existence, all his faculties had not been consecrated to the interests of France, Napoleon would have been less a Frenchman than Maurice Count Saxe, who was naturalised by victory at Fontenoy."

Those critics to whom we allude have equally endeavoured to attract attention by toiling to prove that Napoleon altered the family name, Buonaparte, wherein he suppressed the *u*, which is quiescent in pronunciation; his object being to divest the name of its foreign character; whereas, with or without the *u*, it is neither more nor less than an Italian name. This, like many other surnames, derived its origin at a period when Italy was torn to pieces by civil

wars, being given by the factions to many individuals, who have transmitted them down to posterity as proper names. The name Buonaparte, originally intended to designate an individual devoted to the good cause, now signifies a man illustrious for brilliant exploits and the most astonishing achievements of our age. We cannot, therefore, conceive what interest such detractors could derive by endeavouring to re-establish the letter which Bonaparte has excluded from his name. Do they conceive it is rendered ridiculous, by being penned in the manner it now appears at the bottom of the treaties of Turin, Leoben, Campio Formio, &c.

Napolion, or Napoleon, as before observed, was the second son of Charles Bonaparte and Madame Letizia Raniolini, from whose marriage sprang eight children, six of whom were the occupants of thrones. One of those exceptions was Lucien, who preferred being the opponent of the soldier who made kings, to the enjoyment of monarchical dignity. What attractions such conduct might have in the eyes of a man fond of glory, may be easily conceived: to resist the master of the world was placing himself above every one who bowed to that master; whereby he was nearly raised to the same level.

Napoleon, in early youth, was adroit, lively, and agile in the extreme, and had acquired, it is said, a complete ascendancy over his brother Joseph, who was often beaten and ill-treated; if complaints were carried to the mother, she usually advocated the part of Napoleon, and seldom allowed Joseph to speak in his own defence.

The French government, regarding education as one of the most efficacious means of modifying the national character, and attaching the rising generation to the interests of France, decided that a certain number of young Corsicans, belonging to families possessing the greatest influence, should be educated in French seminaries; and Napoleon was, in consequence, entered as king's scholar in the military school of Brienne. His christian name, which the Corsican accent pronounces as if written *Napoilloné*, from a

similarity of sound, procured for him, among his youthful companions, the nick-name of *la paille au nez*, viz. *straw in the nose.*

On entering the school of Brienne, Napoleon had attained his tenth year, at which tender period of life he displayed a very marked character. Unlike other boys, the sports of infancy were uncongenial to his opening mind; he courted the shades of solitude, and gloom was familiar to his soul. Impressed with such sentiments, his company was little sought for by his fellow students, and, when he appeared among them, his presence rather threw a damp than otherwise upon their occupations, as he addressed them in the language of admonition, rather than joining in the pastimes of youth.

Such a singularity of temper was accompanied by many traits of genius, when that particular science presented itself which rivetted his whole attention; no sooner were the first principles of mathematics taught Napoleon by his preceptor, Father Patrault, than he applied himself with such unremitting assiduity, that his progress kept pace with the eager thirst he had evinced after knowledge. That branch was immediately followed by fortification, and the other military sciences, to all of which the student attached himself with undiminished ardour; while his hours of amusement were spent in perusing the histories of ancient Rome and Greece, whose instructive pages constituted an inexhaustible source of recreation and delight.

So great was Bonaparte's ardour for improvement, that, even while at school, he never suffered a day to pass with satisfaction to himself, in which he did not find his ideas extended and his knowledge increased. Thanking his mother, in one of his letters, for the great care she had manifested in forwarding his education and future advancement, he made use of the following emphatic words:—"*With my sword by my side, and Homer in my pocket, I hope to carve my way through the world.*"

Many are the tales recorded of Napoleon's youth,

which, having too much the appearance of romance, we pass over in silence. The following, however, as matters of fact, shall be noted, being characteristic of the youthful hero's mind. Each student had a small portion of land allotted him:—that occupied by Bonaparte was turned into a garden, which, to prevent intrusion, he environed with palisadoes, and planted thickly with trees, having also constructed a bower, to which he was wont to repair, when his horticultural pursuits were terminated, in order to meditate and reduce into practice his mathematical acquirements. Thus, military tactics were familiar to his thoughts, the *belles lettres* totally neglected, and the god of war became his tutelar divinity.

Under those impressions, Bonaparte's exterior wore a rugged aspect; he never sought to please; and that which he could not compass of himself, he disdained to acquire through the medium of auxiliary aid. With the blandishments of a courtier he was wholly unacquainted, and so unceremonious were his manners, that he bore the appellation of the *Spartan*, which name was attached to him, by his fellow students, until the period of his quitting Brienne. One noble trait of this singular mind was the love he bore his native island, whose independence he thirsted for; and whenever the conversation turned upon its subjugation by the French, which was frequently adverted to among the pupils, in order to excite his rage, he never failed to vent his acrimony in the most bitter terms; and, as the vassalage of his country was effected by Genoa having ceded Corsica to France, his hatred to the Genoese knew no bounds, and, in consequence, he was not to be controlled if a native of that country came into his presence. To this austerity of manners was coupled unbounded pride; he never forgave offences; his resolutions were unshaken; and so determined was his firmness, in matters even of trifling import, that his character assumed an appearance of obstinacy and singularity.

Not only did Napoleon cherish his native island, but every thing connected with his early life was particularly

dear to him. On his return from the Egyptian expedition, he landed at Ajaccio, where he had not appeared since his quitting the island in 1793. On that occasion, his first care was to seek out his nurse, a very poor woman, in whose company he continued, conversing with great affability, for a considerable time. At a subsequent period, when raised to the Consular dignity, he settled upon that female a pension of fifty Napoleons; and when the old woman was made acquainted with the high honours to which her former nursling had been elevated, she resolved to be an eye-witness of his grandeur. Full of that idea, although far advanced in years, she undertook the journey to Paris, at the Emperor's desire, and, landing at Marseilles, after remaining there two days, proceeded forwards, and was most graciously received by Napoleon, who then doubled the pension previously settled upon her.

In 1783, Napoleon was one of the scholars who, at the annual competition at Brienne, was appointed to be sent to the military school at Paris, in order to finish his education; M. Keralio, the inspector at Brienne, being particularly attached to young Napoleon. He was, indeed, fond of the boys in general; played with them when they had finished their examinations, and permitted those who had acquitted themselves most to his satisfaction to dine at his table. Bonaparte was, therefore, singled out to be sent to Paris, though he had not yet attained the requisite age. It having been suggested to M. Keralio that, by postponing such measure until the following year, his pupil would have more time for improvement, the inspector replied, "I know what I am about; and if transgressing the rules, it is not on account of family influence. I know nothing of the friends of this youth. I am merely actuated by my own opinion of his merits: I perceive in him a spark of genius which cannot be too early fostered."

M. Keralio died before he could carry that resolution into effect; however, M. De Regnaud, his successor, the ensuing year fulfilled his intentions, and young Napoleon

was sent to Paris. The following document, which has been incorrectly given in different publications, is here inserted verbatim, as taken from the register of the *Ecole Militaire de Brienne*, for the year 1784, the volume wherein it was recorded having been purchased by Louis Bonaparte for a considerable sum. It may be necessary to state, that two students of the college of Brienne were annually chosen as fit persons to be sent to the *Ecole Militaire* of Paris, and that the above year was that in which Napoleon Bonaparte and Monsieur de Castres were chosen; the following being a translation of the certificate which the former carried with him:—

"*Description of the King's Students, capable, from their age, of entering the Service, or passing to the Military School of Paris; namely,*

"M. de Bonaparte (Napoleon) born the 15th of August, 1769. Height, 4 feet, 10 inches, 10 lines: has finished his fourth degree.

"Of good constitution, excellent health, a character docile, frank, and grateful; of very regular habits; has always distinguished himself by his application to mathematics: he is pretty conversant with history and geography; rather deficient in polite accomplishments, as well as Latin; having only finished his fourth class. He will prove an excellent marine.

"Deserves to pass to the school at Paris."

Bonaparte, while at the seminary of Brienne, was uniformly anxious to hear accounts of the public events which took place in Corsica, and listened with enthusiasm to any successes obtained by the Corsican patriots in arms. Some of the French officers, who had served in that island, would, at times, visit the school, when the conversation frequently turned upon the war in Corsica; during which, those gentlemen, according to the French custom, particularly with military men, would exaggerate the extent of the advan-

tages obtained over the Corsicans; on which occasions, Bonaparte allowed them to continue their recitals; at times, however, asking some shrewd and appropriate question; but, if it so happened, that he could flatly deny their assertions, he would then exclaim, with eagerness, "*Do you not blush, gentlemen, thus to calumniate a whole nation, in order to gratify a momentary vanity?*" Upon one of those occasions, when an officer had described a victory which he stated to have been obtained by *six hundred French*, Bonaparte hastily interrupted him with these words, "*You talk of six hundred of you in the engagement; whereas, I know that you had six thousand troops, and that you were only opposed by a handful of Corsican peasantry;*" then, opening his journals, and unfolding his maps, he referred to those, in proof of the veracity of his assertions, after which, calmly closing the page, he declaimed, with the most cool yet cutting irony, upon the vain-glorious boastings of the officers in the service of France.

Time, which familiarises the mind with every thing, at length produced its effect on the students of Brienne, who, perceiving that Napoleon could never be brought to yield to their will, became satisfied in acquiescing with his particular humours; this acknowledgment of his superiority, without awakening any sentiments of self-importance, was grateful to his feelings; while his associates, if not led to esteem him for the milder qualifications of youth, were intimidated by the stern inflexibility of his nature, and allowed him to ruminate undisturbed in the shades of seclusion. As insubordination was not unfrequent in those public institutions, the scholars at Brienne often opposed the will of their masters; in which case, Napoleon was generally the ring-leader, or the voluntary advocate for the rights of his associates; he would vindicate their proceedings, but never sue for pardon; neither did reproaches, promises, or threats, excite any emotions of fear or astonishment.

In that military seminary, as well as all others of a public nature, the youths were formed into companies, com-

manded by their several officers, the whole constituting a battalion, headed by a colonel; so that, in the selection of their officers by the students, Napoleon was chosen captain of a company; a rank he did not long maintain among them, in consequence of his unsociable habits. Being, in consequence, brought to a court-martial, he was pronounced unworthy of holding the rank, and disgraced to the lowest station in the company;—a degradation that could not shake his mind, as he only felt disdain on witnessing this conduct towards him.

Although Napoleon was by no means pusillanimous, he never displayed that ferocity which some of his biographers have imputed to him in early life. As a proof, however, of the extreme susceptibility of his temper, it is related, that, one day, the quarter-master, a man of harsh disposition, condemned Napoleon, by way of punishment, to wear the serge coat, and take his dinner on his knees, at the door of the refectory. The mortification felt by the disgraced pupil on that account was so great, as to subject him to a violent retching and a severe nervous attack; when the head master of the school happening to pass accidentally, relieved him from the punishment, and reproved the quarter-master for his want of discernment; while Father Patrault, professor of mathematics, was much offended on finding that his first mathematical scholar had been treated with such marked contempt.

Napoleon, however, confessed, "that on attaining the age of puberty, his temper actually became morose and reserved; his passion for reading was carried to excess, and he eagerly devoured the contents of every book that fell in his way." Whilst Napoleon was at this school, Pichegru was his quarter-master, and tutor in the four rules of arithmetic. Napoleon retained but a faint idea of that individual, merely recollecting that he was a tall man, rather red in the face. Pichegru, on the contrary, preserved a distinct remembrance of young Napoleon; and, when he joined the royalist party, being asked whether it would not be possible

to gain over the general of the army of Italy:—"To attempt that," said he, "would only be wasting time; from my knowledge of him when a boy, I am sure he must be a most inflexible character; he has adopted his resolutions, and will never change them."

The emperor, during his exile, was often amused by the ridiculous tales and anecdotes related of his boyhood, in the numerous little publications he chanced to peruse. One, however, relating to his *confirmation* at the military school, he allowed to be genuine; the anecdote being as follows:—The archbishop who officiated, manifesting astonishment at the christian name of Napoleon, said, he did not recollect the saint, and that there was no such name in the calendar; when the boy quickly replied, "That is no rule, as there are an immense number of saints, and only three hundred and sixty-five days in the year."

A similar instance of promptitude was displayed on another occasion, during his residence at school. Bonaparte, undergoing an examination by a general officer, answered all the questions proposed with so much precision, accompanied by such a depth of penetration, that the general, the professors, and students, were completely astonished. At length, in order to bring the interrogatories to an end, the following question was proposed:—"What line of conduct would you adopt, in case you were besieged in a fortified place, and destitute of provisions?" "So long as there were any in the camp of the enemy, I should never be at a loss for a supply," was the answer, without the smallest hesitation. Those emphatic words seemed the prognostics of his future fortunes.

Napoleon from infancy was generally inclined to be serious and thoughtful, uniformly thirsting after knowledge, though the study of the ancient languages had always less attraction for him than history and mathematics. Finding few characters assimilate with his own, his intimates were not numerous; it would, however, be erroneous to insinuate that he had no friends, as some of his earliest connexions

originated when at school. M. Fauvelet de Bourienne was among that number, who uniformly attached himself to the fortunes of Napoleon in Italy, Egypt, and France, when, under the title of Consul, he assumed the direction of the government.

Few of the pupils at Brienne were admitted into the retreat Napoleon had formed for himself, upon the plot of ground assigned him. While resident there, out of school hours, though in the midst of one hundred and fifty scholars, Bonaparte lived nearly sequestered, and never participated in boyish amusements.* The garden he chose for his place of retreat, having fortified the entrance with palisadoes, &c. to block out all intruders; and within that entrenchment he admitted none but his favourite few.

It was customary with the young gentlemen at the military school to be permitted, on the festival of Saint Louis, which falls upon the 25th of August, to give themselves up to pleasurable recreations, and every unrestrained demonstration of youthful hilarity. All punishments were alike suspended, subordination was disregarded, so that it usually happened some accident occurred before the termination of the day. Among other prerogatives, it was customary with such youths as had attained the age of fourteen, to be allowed the privilege of purchasing a certain quantity of gunpowder, and, for a considerable period prior to the festival in question, the pupils were in the habit of assembling to manufacture their fireworks; in addition to which, they were allowed to discharge small cannons, muskets, and other fire-arms, as they thought proper.

At the *fête* of Saint Louis, in 1784, being the last year of Napoleon's continuance at Brienne, he displayed a com-

* Being at Marseilles, and in company with a party of young people, Napoleon had retired into a corner of the room with a book, while the rest were dancing and amusing themselves. They solicited him, in vain, to join their youthful sports; his reply to their entreaties being as follows,—"*Jouer et danser, ce n'est pas là la manière de former un homme.*" "Playing and dancing is not the way to form a man."

The above anecdote was communicated to Miss Plumptre, while at Marseilles, by a person present on that occasion.

plete apathy respecting the plans adopted by his companions to commemorate that anniversary. While they were all hilarity and animation, he displayed no congenial sentiment, being gloomy, taciturn, and involved in reflection; so that he retired from the general joy, to his garden, that he might indulge in his studies, undisturbed by the surrounding din. Such conduct was not noticed by his young associates, who, fully occupied with their own pastimes, merely laughed at this singular behaviour; nor would the circumstance have been called to mind, but for an event that created general attention and resentment.

About nine o'clock at night, some pupils had assembled in the garden contiguous to that belonging to Bonaparte, for the purpose of witnessing a show prepared by its possessor, consisting of a pyramid formed of numerous fireworks, when the light being applied, unfortunately a parcel, containing several pounds of gunpowder, had, through inadvertency, remained; and, while the lads were enjoying the sight, a spark communicating to the package, an immediate explosion took place, when several legs and arms were broken, and the faces of others dreadfully lacerated; added to which, a portion of the wall was thrown down, from the force of the shock. A dreadful confusion naturally ensued, and, in the general alarm, some of the boys, while endeavouring to escape, broke through the palisadoes of Bonaparte's garden; who, armed with a pick-axe, presented himself, in order to push those back into the fire, who had injured the bulwarks of his garden; when the blows he bestowed on the terrified fugitives, added to the number of those who smarted from the effects of that serious accident.

Napoleon had already become a severe disciplinarian, a very premature virtue in that seminary, which more than once exposed him to the resentment of his comrades. He had been nominated their officer, and they were surprised to find that he actually treated them as mere privates. Napoleon, instead of juvenile amusements, substituted the representation of heroic achievements. In the court allotted to the boys for recreation, he sometimes formed a circus for

gladiators; and, at others, an arena for the Olympic games. Those pastimes being at one period suspended, he retired to his tent; but could not long remain inactive, or await the return of spring, and, therefore, left his quarters in the depth of winter. There had been a heavy fall of snow, and the boys amused themselves by forming it into heaps. Our youthful general, however, contrived to turn this to his advantage, and, with equal accuracy and skill, raised a number of redoubts and intrenchments, after the plans of Vauban; and, in front of his citadel, displayed that genius which was afterwards to open for him the gates of Toulon and Mantua. With snowballs he caused the place to be defended against the attacks made by others; this campaign, however, speedily terminated by a thaw.

On that occasion, it has been affirmed, the curiosity of the people of Brienne, and even strangers, was excited by the reports of the extent of those forts, bastions, and redoubts of snow, raised according to the strictest rules of warlike art, so that crowds repaired to admire those structures. Bonaparte by turns headed the assailants and their opponents; increasing the interest by military manœuvres, which uniformly created astonishment.

On a certain occasion, one of his comrades having, either wantonly or maliciously, deranged his order of battle, carried the mark of the chastisement he drew upon himself by that imprudence, during the rest of his life. Many years after, when Napoleon had attained to the summit of glory, it was announced to him, that one of his former school-fellows wished for an introduction. The Emperor, however, had no recollection of his name:—"Ask him," said he, "if he knows of any thing particular, that may assist me in calling him to my mind?" "Sire, he has a very deep scar on his forehead; and says, you ought to recollect what passed between you and him when that wound was inflicted." "He is in the right," said Napoleon: "I know how he acquired that cicatrice. I threw a grenade at his head; let him come in."

Sentiments expressed in early youth, frequently deve-

lope the future character. One day, when Bonaparte was speaking of Turenne with considerable warmth, a lady observed, "He was a great man, but I should have liked him better, had he not ravaged the Palatinate." "What does that signify," replied the young officer, briskly, "*if the conflagration was necessary to his views!*"

It appears evident that the parents of Napoleon had rested their principal hopes on him from earliest childhood. His father when dying, at Montpelier, though Joseph was present, spoke only of Napoleon; and, in the delirium with which he was seized, in his last moments, he incessantly called Napoleon to come to his aid with his *great sword.* The grand uncle, Lucien, on his death-bed, being surrounded by all his relatives, said, addressing himself to Joseph, "You are the eldest of the family; but there is the *head* of it (pointing to Napoleon)—never lose sight of him." The emperor used to laugh, and say "This was a true disinheritance; it was the scene of Jacob and Esau."

Count Las Cases also relates, that having been himself educated at the military school at Brienne, though at an earlier period than Napoleon, he was enabled, on his return from emigration, to converse about the emperor with the masters who had been common to both of them. M. De l'Eguille, professor of history, used to boast, that the records of the military school contained proofs of his having foretold the great career which his pupil was destined to fulfil. When First Consul, Bonaparte used often to invite that gentleman to breakfast at Malmaison.

M. Domairon, professor of Belles Lettres, declared he had always been struck with the singularity of Napoleon's amplifications, which he compared to flaming granites poured from a volcano. Only one teacher in the school formed a mistaken idea of Bonaparte; that individual being M. Bauer, the German master. Young Napoleon never made much progress in that language, which offended the tutor, who, consequently, formed a most contemptible opinion of his pupil's abilities. One day, Napoleon having quitted his

place, M. Bauer inquired where he was; when, being told that Bonaparte was attending his examination in the class of artillery, "Oh, then he does learn something!" said M. Bauer, ironically. "Why, sir, he is the best mathematician in the school," was the reply. "Ah, it has been remarked, and I have uniformly thought, that none but a fool could learn mathematics." The emperor, relating this anecdote some years after, said, "It would be curious to know whether M. Bauer lived long enough to ascertain my real character, and enjoy the confirmation of his own judgment."

Napoleon was scarcely eighteen years of age, when the Abbé Raynal appreciated his talents so highly, as to invite him to his scientific *déjeûnés*. The celebrated Paoli also said, "This young man is formed on the ancient model; he is one of Plutarch's men."

Napoleon, while at the military school, and about seventeen years of age, had a narrow escape for his life. While swimming in the Seine, the cramp seized him, and, after several ineffectual struggles, he sank. At the moment in question, he subsequently declared, that he had experienced the sensations of dying, and lost all recollection. However, after sinking, the current forced him upon a sand-bank, where he lay senseless for some time, till restored to animation by the aid of his young companions, who had witnessed the accident. In the first instance, they had given him up for lost, not conceiving that the current would have conveyed him to such a distance.

In the year 1785, Bonaparte was admitted into the artillery; and proceeded from the military school at Paris to the regiment de la Fère, in quality of second lieutenant. Born amidst a republican contest in his native island, it became his destiny to burst into manhood at the moment when the country of his choice had engaged in that struggle which opened a boundless field for the military adventurer; there being much in his habits and manners applicable to the situation allotted him. Instead of imitating the frivolity of many young men of his age, his mind was con-

tinually intent on mathematics, and every treatise connected with military tactics.

From the period when Bonaparte had the command of a battalion, in Corsica, 1791, until the beginning of 1793, with some short intermissions, he was occupied in pursuing his studies, and going through the ordinary routine of his profession. His leisure hours were employed in compiling the lives of illustrious Corsicans, after the manner of Plutarch, particularly those patriots who had distinguished themselves in fighting for the independence of their country; two relations of his mother, a father and son, who had fallen in the defence of Ajaccio against the Genoese, in 1762, being among the number. He had made a considerable progress in that work; but when afterwards called into a life of incessant bustle and activity, and perpetually moving from place to place, the manuscript was unfortunately lost. Great pains were subsequently taken by his brother Joseph to ascertain what became of it, in order to recover the same, but without success. Napoleon was always an enthusiastic admirer of Plutarch; and, while a youth, uniformly had a volume of that celebrated author in his pocket. He was also passionately fond of Ossian, being able to repeat the major part of that sublime work by heart.

After joining his regiment at Valence, the earliest comrades of Bonaparte at the mess-table were—Laribossière, who, during the imperial reign, was appointed inspector-general of artillery; Sorbier, his successor; D'Hedouville, junior; Malet, brother of the general of that name, who, during the absence of Napoleon on the Russian expedition, in 1812, headed a conspiracy at Paris; an officer named Mabille, who, on returning from emigration, was appointed postmaster-general by the emperor; Rolland de Villarceaux, afterwards prefect of Nismes; and Desmazzis, senior, Napoleon's companion at the Military School, and friend of his early years, who became keeper of the imperial wardrobe.

The regiment de la Fère behaved so ill to the inhabitants of Turin, that Napoleon caused it to be reduced. For

that purpose the men were marched to Paris, and assembled on the parade, when he ordered that the colours should be taken from them, and lodged in the church of the Invalids, covered with mourning; while those officers who had not behaved so improperly as the principal actors, were distributed amongst other regiments. Some months after, he reformed the regiment under different officers, when the colours were restored with great pomp.

At Valence, Napoleon was introduced to Madame Colombier, a lady about fifty years of age, endowed with many estimable qualities, and one of the most distinguished personages in the place, who entertained a great regard for the young artillery officer. By that lady, Bonaparte was introduced to the Abbé de St. Ruffé, a man of considerable property, who associated with the most distinguished persons in the environs; and the same female frequently prognosticated that Napoleon would rise to eminence. Her death took place on the breaking out of the revolution, an event in which she had taken very great interest; nor did the emperor ever speak of Madame Colombier, but with expressions of the tenderest gratitude.*

Napoleon, in reference to the troubles which characterised the opening of the Revolution, on more than one occasion, subsequently observed, "Had I then filled the post of general, I should have been of the court party; as sub-lieutenant, I declared for the Revolution." Bonaparte decidedly ranged himself under the standard of liberty; at

* Valence is also famed as having been the spot where Napoleon first became susceptible of a tender passion, excited by Mademoiselle Colombier, daughter of his patroness, who was not insensible to her admirer's merits. "We were the most innocent creatures imaginable," the emperor used to say. "We contrived little meetings; and I well remember one interview taking place on a midsummer morning, just as day began to dawn; when, it will scarcely be believed, all our happiness consisted in eating cherries together."

When the emperor was proceeding to be crowned King of Italy, on his way through Lyons, he again beheld Mademoiselle Colombier, who had changed her name to that of de Bressieux. She gained access to Napoleon with some difficulty, who was charmed with the interview, though he found her beauty much impaired. He kindly granted the nomination to a post solicited for her husband, and equally conferred upon her the situation of lady of honour to one of his sisters.

which period, circumstances made him acquainted with one of its most illustrious defenders, in the person of the celebrated hero of Corsica, Pascal Paoli. That general, having fought with more glory than success for the independence of the island, found himself compelled to retire to England, when, being authorised by the Constituent Assembly to reclaim the rank of citizen in his own country, then liberated by France, he repaired to Paris. Napoleon, whose father, as previously observed, had nobly distinguished himself in the war of independence, was received as a son by the old friend of Carolo Bonaparte. The qualifications of young Napoleon, which had long been appreciated by men of less penetration than Paoli, did not escape his acumen; and, whatever might have been the designs of Pascal, he found it very useful to attach our youthful soldier to himself, who, on his part, followed the old general with all the enthusiasm of a Frenchman, while the patriotism of Paoli was only that of a Corsican.

The impulse communicated to Corsica by the French Revolution was not altogether to the interest of France. The majority of the population was more in the habit of considering the French as masters, than fellow-citizens; and, therefore, perceived no liberty in any order of things that did not confer absolute independence upon the whole island. Paoli himself inclined to that way of thinking, which he at first dissembled, but could not long conceal the predilection entertained for the English constitution, in preference to the French mode of legislature conferred upon Corsica. At the same time, Paoli exerted every effort to protect his country from the excesses which had manifested themselves, in consequence of the revolutionary fermentation in France.

That predilection for the British code, and his aversion to revolutionary tumults, soon rendered Paoli a suspected character, who was several times accused of an intention to deliver up Corsica to England. The old general, however, was vehemently defended, but the interior tranquillity of

the island suffered materially from that struggle. Following the example of the French, the population was divided into aristocrats and democrats, which produced other sub-divisions. Those advocating liberty, separated from Paoli's partisans, who had declared for the independence of Corsica; and the latter being decreed traitors by the Convention, were compelled to become such in reality. Bonaparte, however, remained a French citizen, and, without hesitating between the interest or inclination of his friend, and those of his country, ceased to continue the soldier of Paoli, that he might avoid becoming the subject of England.

It was not without infinite pain that Bonaparte abandoned the cause of a man whom he had, for so many years, admired as a hero. Napoleon, on more occasions than one, had undertaken the defence of Pascal Paoli, at the risk of his personal safety, if not life. With his own hands he affixed to the walls of Ajaccio, a spirited refutation of the decree issued by the Convention against Paoli, which document had been advocated by the municipality of the city. By that action, as independent as courageous, he exposed himself to the animadversions of the commissioners sent to Corsica, in order to put the decree into execution. His attachment, however, to an habitual friendship, did not carry him beyond the limits of his duty. Appointed commandant of the National Guard, and paid by government, he uniformly advocated the cause of France against the national troops in the interest of Paoli, who were not stipendiaries of the French government. That firmness on the part of Bonaparte was never forgiven. Having quelled an insurrection, he was accused of having sought to provoke that disorder, for the purpose of rendering himself useful in repressing it, and obliged to repair to Paris in order to justify his conduct; which event occurred in 1792, an epoch distinguished by the annihilation of royalty in France.

On his return to Corsica, after the memorable 10th of August, of the same year, Bonaparte at length found an opportunity for the exercise of his military talents. France

being proclaimed a Republic, was threatened and attacked by all the powers of Europe. More than a million of Republicans flew to arms, and, in a short time, the French forces appeared on the territories of those powers who had been expulsed from the soil of France. Belgium was conquered; Savoy invaded; while a fleet had sailed from Toulon, under the orders of Admiral Truguet. Bonaparte was entrusted with the direction of that expedition, which seized upon the island and fort St. Etienne, as well as the Isle de la Madeleine, belonging to the King of Sardinia. He was, however, soon compelled to evacuate those places, as the disasters sustained by the fleet had affected the success of the whole expedition.

Truguet, previous to encountering the enemy, had to contend with the elements, which completely prevented the junction of his fleet with a squadron cruising off Naples. On arriving before Cagliari, he was received in a very unexpected manner by those islanders, who saluted the French with showers of red-hot balls; while the troops who attempted a descent were also defeated. That expedition cost the French republic a ship of the line, and from five to six hundred men, though success at the onset seemed placed beyond a doubt. Among the troops there employed, were two battalions of the Corsican national guards.

The disorganization and retreat of that squadron inspired the independent party in Corsica with renewed hopes; the discontented, therefore, rallied their forces, and, in spite of the decrees of the Convention, and the feeble army left in Corsica to retain the natives in obedience, the liberals convoked a Consulta at Corté, under the auspices of Pascal Paoli, and formed a council of government, the secretary of which was M. Pozzo di Borgo, afterwards Russian ambassador at the court of France. The president, Paoli, was then nominated generalissimo of the Corsican forces; who, with the succours received from England, easily dispersed the French troops, and those inhabitants who sided with France; so that Ajaccio, with every place of importance,

was soon in Paoli's power. On Bonaparte's return to the island, Salicette and La Combe St. Michel, members of the Convention, charged to carry its decree into execution, had fled for refuge to Calvi; Napoleon, on repairing thither to join them, was exposed to considerable danger, since, custom having there the force of law, the destroying any man deemed obnoxious, even by assassination, is authorised. With the assistance of some troops disembarked by the French commissioners, Bonaparte attempted to re-enter Ajaccio, but in vain; the arms of the Convention being equally powerless with its decrees. The proscription of the conquered was the result of victory, and, as Bonaparte had signalised himself, on that occasion, too much to be spared, a decree, therefore, signed by Paoli, condemned him to perpetual banishment. Despoiled of his property and office, Napoleon embarked with his family, all the members of which uniformly participated in his fortunes. A frail bark, therefore, received the future Cæsar, and conveyed him across the waves, in order to fulfil the unsearchable behests of Providence. Nothing could be more deplorable than Bonaparte's prospects at the period in question; and nothing more uncertain than his future destiny. He, notwithstanding, felt a persuasion that Fortune might not always abandon him; and was well aware a vast scene still lay open to his views. It was then he was heard to ejaculate—"*In a revolution, a soldier should never despair, if he possesses courage and genius!*"

Previous to sailing from Corsica, the Bonaparte family was attacked by twelve or fifteen thousand peasants, who descended from the mountains on Ajaccio, when they pillaged and burnt Napoleon's family residence, sparing neither flocks or vines. Madame, (Napoleon's mother,) with a few faithful friends, wandered for some time on the sea-shore; while Paoli, who apprehended the gathering storm, had endeavoured to avert it. "Renounce this opposition," said he, to Madame; "it will prove the ruin of yourself, your family, and fortunes." She, however, like another Cornelia,

heroically replied, "My children and relatives only obey two laws—duty and honour."

This victim of her devotedness to France, expected to be received at Marseilles as an emigrant of distinction; whereas, she scarcely found herself in safety, as the true spirit of patriotism, as it was then termed, existed only among the very lowest orders of society.

CHAP. III.

Separation of the Bonapartean Family—Insurrections in the South—Siege of Toulon—Generals Cartaux, Dugommier, and Bonaparte—General O'Hara—Bonaparte wounded—His Imprisonment and Liberation—Expeditions to Corsica—The Patriots of Marseilles—Bonaparte appointed to command the Artillery of the Army of Italy—Repairs to Nice—General Dumerbion—Operations against the Austrians and Piedmontese—The Wife of a Representative—Bonaparte displaced by Aubry, Commissioner of the Convention—Restored by M. Pontcoulant—Quarrel between the Sections and Convention—Bonaparte employed against the former—Anecdote—Marriage of Napoleon with Madame Beauharnois—Departure for the Army of Italy—Address to the Soldiers—Visit to Marseilles—Plan of the Italian Campaign.

BONAPARTE and his family disembarked in Provence, where they found themselves reduced, through their attachment for France, to a state of distress, similar to that endured by a number of French emigrants, from a cause diametrically opposite. Madame Bonaparte lived at Marseilles with her daughters, upon a very scanty allowance assigned by government, in return for the sacrifice made of all she had possessed; while her sons contended with their misfortunes unassisted, Joseph and Lucien obtaining employment in the army administration, and Napoleon and Louis engaging in the military service.

Having re-entered the corps of artillery, Napoleon passed as first lieutenant in the fourth regiment of that corps, and, a few months after, rose, by right of seniority, to the rank of captain, in the second company of the same corps, then in garrison at Nice. This occurred in 1793, when the execution of Louis XVI. astonished even those in Paris, who were forced to concur in that sanguinary

measure; which also impressed a degree of horror upon the majority of the French in the provinces.

In the southern departments, the revolutionary ideas began to operate with a fanaticism bordering on frenzy. Challier, a complete demagogue, and imitator of Marat, dared display the symptoms of insurrection, not altogether against the government of the Convention, but those by whom it was governed, namely, the Mountain party. Marseilles followed that example, and was imitated by all the principal cities of the south, in which a federation was solemnised. In direct opposition to such proceedings, Toulon laid the country open to foreign armies, and voluntarily delivered up to its enemies those fleets and arsenals intended to protect it against any attacks from its adversaries.

The proposals made to the inhabitants of the latter city by the British admiral, Hood, then blockading the port by sea, were specious in the extreme. "Declare yourselves," said he, "openly and frankly, for the monarchy; hoist the ancient French colours; disarm your ships of war; put us in possession of your forts; and, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, I offer you all the succours in my power. Your property shall not only be scrupulously respected, but the port, the fleet, the fortresses of Toulon, shall be religiously remitted to France, as soon as peace shall have been signed; the king's only object being to re-establish the union of the two states upon bases just and honourable." Those terms being acceded to, English, Spanish, and Neapolitan troops were landed in such numbers, that it became necessary for the French to assemble an army of thirty thousand men, ere they could compel the besieged to evacuate the town and forts.

Assisted by the bravery of the French general, Cartaux, the Republicans, after gaining some minor advantages, took a position before Toulon. That commander, however, soon felt his incapacity to carry on such an important operation for any length of time; and General Dugommier, a man of superior talent, was, in consequence,

delegated to superintend the siege. Previous to the arrival of the latter, Bonaparte had been appointed to command the artillery, and, with a few exceptions, Cartaux placed the most unlimited confidence in that young officer, whom he denominated "Captain Cannon."

The success of a siege must naturally depend upon the artillery employed, especially where great guns are equally to be contended with. Incessant thunders, therefore, were alike heard from the ramparts, the summits of the mountains that command the place, and the vessels, English, Spanish, and French, floating in the roads; the enemy having converted the latter into so many moving citadels.

Bonaparte not only performed all that could be expected of him, but frequently rectified the errors of others, and displayed the superiority of his genius to more than one officer officiating as his superior in rank. Preserving his dignity with the representatives sent by the Convention to Toulon, as in regard to every one else, he trusted such self-confidence would be justified by ultimate success. One of the representatives having made some observation upon the position of a battery, "Look to your own business," said Bonaparte, "and leave me to follow mine. The battery must remain where it is; I will answer for its effect with my head."

In the heat of action, Bonaparte was at all times officer and soldier; on the capture of a redoubt, fighting near Marshal Suchet, then only a captain, he undertook to load a gun, at which an artillery man had just been killed, and making use of the ramrod whilst it was warm, contracted a disease that returned for a length of time, under a variety of forms; this feat he often recollected, as having been one of the first acts of his military career. The general attack of the besiegers was made upon Toulon, from the land side, on the 16th of December; when neither the severity of the season, nor the unceasing wetness of the weather, could damp the impetuosity of the French troops; those exhausted by fatigue being continually supplied by fresh reinforce-

ments, during this protracted assault, which continued the major part of the siege. The principal redoubt, defended by two thousand men, was carried on the 17th, though protected by a double row of palisadoes, an intrenched camp, and a cross fire from three batteries. Bonaparte afterwards established a battery upon the promontory of Aiguilette, which commanded the English fleet; and other positions, occupied by the English, upon the mountains, were carried at the point of the bayonet. Ultimately compelled to abandon the place, the British retired in the night, and, on the 20th of December, the French re-entered Toulon, when they inflicted dreadful vengeance on the royalists left in the city.

The rank of general of brigade was the reward conferred upon Bonaparte, for his services at the siege of Toulon; who, when conversing with Barry O'Meara respecting that affair, observed, that he had made General O'Hara prisoner—"I may say," said he, "with my own hand. I had constructed a masked battery of eight twenty-four pounders and four mortars, in order to open upon fort Malbosquet, which was in possession of the English. The whole was finished in the evening, and it was my intention to have opened upon them in the morning. While I was giving directions at another part of the army, some of the deputies of the Convention came down. In those days, they frequently took upon themselves to direct the operations of the armies, and those *imbeciles* ordered the battery to commence firing, which was obeyed. As soon as I observed that premature fire, I immediately conceived the English general would attack the battery, and most probably carry it, as matters had not yet been arranged to support it. In fact, O'Hara, perceiving that the fire would infallibly dislodge his troops from Malbosquet, from which last position I would have taken the fort commanding the harbour, he determined upon attacking it. Accordingly, in the morning, he put himself at the head of his troops, sallied out, and actually carried the battery and the lines I had formed to the left; those to the right being also taken by the Neapolitans.

While busied in spiking the guns, I advanced, with three or four hundred grenadiers, unperceived, through a *boyau* covered with olive trees, which communicated with the battery, and commenced a terrible fire upon his troops. The English, astonished, at first supposed that the Neapolitans, who had lines on the right, had mistaken them for French, and said, 'It is those *canaglie* of Neapolitans who are firing upon us.' O'Hara then ran out of the battery, and advanced towards us; at which moment he was wounded by the fire of a serjeant; when I, who stood at the mouth of the *boyau*, seized him by the coat, and threw him back amongst my own men, thinking he was a colonel, as he wore two epaulettes. While they were conducting him to the rear, he cried out that he was the commander-in-chief of the English, conceiving that they were going to massacre him; as there existed a horrible order at that time, from the Convention, to grant no quarter to the English; when I ran up, and prevented the soldiers from ill treating him. He spoke very bad French, and, as I saw he thought my men intended to butcher him, I did every thing in my power to console him, and gave directions that his wound should be immediately dressed, and every attention paid to him. He afterwards begged me to give him a statement of the manner of his capture, in order to show it to the English government, in his own justification. Those blockheads of deputies," continued Napoleon, "wanted to attack and storm the town first; whereas, I explained to them that it was very strong, and we should lose many men; that the best way would be, to make ourselves first masters of the forts commanding the harbour, as then the English would either be taken, or obliged to burn the greater part of the fleet and escape. My advice was adopted, and the British, perceiving what would prove the result, set fire to the vessels, and abandoned the town."

During this early exhibition of Bonaparte's skill and courage, he attacked a battery occupied by the English; when having charged several times, at length, for the pur-

pose of encouraging his men, he jumped into the same, and, on the instant, received a deep bayonet wound in the interior of the left thigh, about two inches and a half above the knee. He fell backwards, and was received into the arms of Lieutenant Muiron, who safely bore him from the scene of action. That wound nearly cost Bonaparte the loss of his leg; who ever after regarded Muiron in the light of a brother.

The simplicity of General Cartaux, under whom Napoleon was sent to act, or rather supersede, at the siege of Toulon, was very striking; he nevertheless had the reputation of being haughty, and uniformly appeared covered with embroidery. On Bonaparte's arrival, the general inquired what duty he had been appointed to fulfil; when the young officer modestly presented the letter that had been entrusted to him. "This," said Cartaux, twirling his whiskers, "was quite unnecessary; we want no assistance to retake Toulon; however, you are welcome, and may share the glory of burning the town to-morrow, without having experienced any of the fatigue."

In all the disputes, and many occurred, between Cartaux and Bonaparte, as commandant of artillery, the wife of the general was commonly present, and uniformly took part with the young officer; saying, with great *naïveté*, to her husband, "Let the young man alone, he knows more about it than you do, since he never asks your advice; besides, are you not the responsible person?—the glory will be yours."

The lady alluded to, was not wanting in good sense; previous to her return to Paris, after her husband had been recalled from Toulon, the Jacobins of Marseilles gave a splendid fête, by way of triumph over the disgraced Bourbon family. In the course of the evening, the conversation turning on the new commandant of artillery, who was enthusiastically praised, "Do not reckon on him," said she; "that young man has too much understanding to remain long a *Sans Culotte*." When the general exclaimed, with

the voice of a Stentor; "Femme Cartaux, would you, then, set us all down for fools?"—"No, I do not mean to infer that, my dear; but I must be explicit, and tell you, that he does not rank one of your sort."

Shortly after the surrender of Toulon, Bonaparte accompanied General Dugommier to Marseilles; and, upon one occasion, being in company, where an individual of the party, struck with his diminutive stature, inquired, "*Who that little bit of an officer was, and where he had picked him up?*" "That officer's name," replied the General, "*is Bonaparte; I picked him up* at the siege of Toulon, to the successful termination of which he so eminently contributed; and, if I mistake not, it is more than probable, you will one day behold *that little bit of an officer, a far greater man* than any of us."

Subsequent to the success at Toulon, Napoleon was despatched upon a fresh expedition to Corsica, where Paoli, having re-established royalty, Lord Minto, on the part of Great Britain, officiated as viceroy. The expedition alluded to, was not attended by success; however, on the return of Bonaparte, he was charged with the defence of the coasts of the Mediterranean, upon which occasion he removed many batteries, and caused new ones to be constructed in other places, where he conceived they might prove more effective. In order to perfect his plan, he also proposed the re-construction of the fort of Saint Nicholas, at Marseilles, which, like the Bastille, at Paris, had been destroyed during the first effervescence of the Revolution. The patriots of that city persuaded themselves that Bonaparte wanted to erect a prison, the building which previously stood there having been used for that purpose. The Convention, satisfied with the apology offered by Bonaparte, did not accuse him of incivism, as his enemies had desired, nor was fort St. Nicholas rebuilt. The fears of the Marsellois, however, deprived them of a fortress.

Bonaparte being appointed to command the artillery, afterwards repaired to the army of Italy, where new perse-

cutions awaited him. He was confident in his own opinions, which were not, however, conformable with those that had prevailed in the council. After having seized upon the Col di Tende, Oneglia, and Ormea, in the valley of Tanaro, the army, stationary upon the Alps, seemed to rest satisfied without extending its conquests. Instead of a mere war of posts, Napoleon proposed a war of invasion, and that the army should precipitate itself upon Piedmont, from those mountains which no longer afforded it protection.

This advice, given with assurance, though subsequently crowned by success, was attributed to presumption; and the confidence with which Napoleon gave his opinion, on all occasions, was censured as insubordination. Men of mean talents only waited for an opportunity to rid themselves of the observation of a superior genius. The results of the 10th of Thermidor offered the occasion so much required, as the close connexion between Bonaparte and the commissioners, who had been sent by the Convention to superintend the siege of Toulon, was now turned against the young general. Among those commissioners was Robespierre junior, accused of having favoured the sanguinary projects of his brother; and Napoleon was, in consequence, suspended from his functions, and imprisoned for some time as a friend and accomplice of that commissioner, whom he had only obeyed in common with the rest of the army. Never despairing, Bonaparte, far from renouncing his system, employed himself in rendering his plan of a campaign as perfect as possible, though suffering confinement. In imagination, he had already made a descent upon the beautiful territories of Lombardy, which he was so speedily doomed to conquer. The duration of imprisonment was not long, as the importance of Bonaparte's presence was soon demonstrated by his absence. Again desirous to conquer, the Convention recalled that man who had already possessed the art of organizing victory, and to whose talents and excellent combinations General Dumerbion acknowledged he had been indebted for his success in Italy, on

Bonaparte's having been first sent to Nice, which was in March, 1794.

Dumerbion was an old and brave officer, who had previously carried on war between the Var and the Roya, being thoroughly acquainted with the positions of all the mountains that cover Nice. Napoleon having visited the advanced posts, and reconnoitred the line which the army occupied, laid a memorial before the General, relating to the unfortunate attack of General Brunet, and the method of compelling the enemy to retreat beyond the Upper Alps, by taking possession of the Col di Tende. Those suggestions having been presented to a council, attended by the representatives Ricors and young Robespierre, were agreed to unanimously. Subsequent to the capture of Toulon, although the reputation of Bonaparte had been quite sufficient to inspire confidence in his designs, it is nevertheless evident, that, for some time, few of the representatives of the people knew how to appreciate his real merits and character. At Nice, while general of artillery, he was, for a short time, placed under arrest by the deputy Laporte, because he would not allow him to employ his artillery horses for the posting service.

On the 18th of April, 1794, part of the army under Massena, (Dumerbion being confined by the gout,) in pursuance of Bonaparte's plan, crossed the Roya near Menton, and then divided into four columns: the first marched by the bank of the Roya; the second along that of the Nervia; the third proceeded up the Taggio; and the fourth moved upon Oneglia. The latter column, upon the heights of St. Agatha, fell in with a body of Austrians and Piedmontese, which it defeated, and Brulé, general of brigade, was killed in the action. The head-quarters being removed to Oneglia, troops were immediately sent to occupy Loano; when the French, marching to the sources of the Tanaro, beat the enemy on the heights of Ponte Dinairo, possessed themselves of the fortress of Ormea, entered Garessio, and occupied the road from that place to Turin. In the mean time,

the movements of the other French columns so alarmed the Piedmontese, that they hastily abandoned all the positions which had been stained by so much blood. Saorgio was immediately invested, and capitulated; while, on the 7th of May, the Piedmontese troops, after a brisk attack, were driven from the Col di Tende; whereby all the upper regions of the Alps fell into the hands of the French, who, in those manœuvres, gained more than sixty pieces of cannon. Saorgio was provisioned, and abounded with ammunition of every kind, being the principal depôt of the whole Piedmontese army; in which new positions the French remained till September, when they marched to meet an Austrian force advancing on the Bormida.

General Bonaparte having passed the straits of the Bormida, proceeded to Chiari, where he fell in with from twelve to thirteen thousand Austrians manœuvring on the plain, who no sooner saw the French army, than they retreated to Dego, but being soon attacked, retired upon Acqui. The French forces having taken Dego, were in possession of several magazines, and ascertained that there was nothing to apprehend from the Austrians. That march, directed by Bonaparte in person, spread consternation throughout all Italy;—the French line then extended to Bardinetto and the Col di Tende, passing by Septipani, Melagno, and St. James.

The remainder of 1794 was spent in placing those positions in a proper state of defence, especially Vado; and the knowledge thereby acquired by Napoleon under those circumstances, became extremely useful to him in 1796, when appointed commander-in-chief.

In the army of Nice, under General Dumerbion, there was a representative, whose wife, a pretty fascinating woman, even usurped his authority; both, however, paid great attention to the general of artillery, and treated him in the most handsome manner. This proved of infinite advantage, during the frequent inefficiency of the laws, a representative of the people being then a personage of uncommon influ-

ence. After Bonaparte became emperor, he saw the fair representative of Nice, then a widow, but so altered, as to be scarcely recognisable. "He had realised," he remarked, "all her dreams." Yet, notwithstanding she resided at Versailles, many years elapsed ere she succeeded in gaining access to him. In order to give that lady an idea of an engagement, when in the neighbourhood of the Col di Tende, Bonaparte subsequently acknowledged, he ordered the attack of an advanced post, which cost the lives of several men, being a mere whim, the recollection of which ever after gave him infinite pain.

The successes and advantages, however, which Bonaparte had procured for the Republic, while only a general of artillery of the army of Italy, did not seem to give satisfaction to the leading members of the Conventional Government, after the fall of Robespierre. The commissioner Aubry, sent into the departments to purify the several corps of terrorists, and men without capacity, boasted of having excluded no less than twelve thousand officers from the fourteen armies. Aubry, desirous of mortifying a man whom he dared not dismiss from the service, insisted on Napoleon's removal from the army of Italy, to that of the West, in La Vendée; when he refused to accept the appointment, and repaired to Paris; on which occasion, his expostulation with Aubry, which occurred in May, 1795, is said to have produced a perfect scene. Bonaparte insisted vehemently, being in possession of facts to bear him out; while Aubry was bitter and obstinate, conscious of being invested with power. Napoleon, he affirmed, was too young, having only attained his twenty-fifth year; when he was answered, that a soldier soon grew old on the field of battle. The general, however, ultimately proved himself a person of such importance to the state, that it was impossible to dispense with his services for any considerable length of time; but, during such interval, he was obliged to pass his days in a state of painful inactivity.

At this period, the pecuniary resources of Bonaparte

were exhausted, in a great measure by the depreciation of the paper currency; friendship, however, came to his assistance: Marmont never quitted him; Junot was equally kind, and constantly gave him assurances, that the state of inaction to which he had been reduced, could not prove of any long continuance.

Aubry in turn being displaced, and his office supplied by M. Pontcoulant, the latter not only recommissioned Bonaparte, but retained him in Paris, to assist the labours of the Military Council, to the members of which Bonaparte submitted the stupendous idea of his Italian campaign for 1796, which was afterwards carried into execution. This plan might have been taken for a real report of operations actually performed, rather than an outline simply projected; such was the precision and acumen with which every measure afterwards adopted, had been previously foreseen and provided for.

The misunderstanding between the Convention and the forty-eight sections of Paris, which eventually placed Bonaparte in a more distinguished situation than he had ever before enjoyed, originated in the former having passed two obnoxious laws on the 5th and 13th Fructidor (22d and 30th of August), 1795; which decrees expressed, that two-thirds of the members composing the Convention should be re-elected for the new legislature. The people, especially the Parisians, could not endure the idea of men re-appointing themselves; as, according to the principle upon which they had acted for two years, they might continue in office for life, and thus establish a system, infinitely more odious than that of absolute monarchy. Independent of this, the Convention was very justly represented as forming a body of tyrants and assassins, purged indeed of such monsters as Robespierre, &c. yet still constituted of the murderers of the 2d of September, the conspirators of the 31st of May, the applauders of the assassination of the Gironde party, &c.

The Convention, on Sunday, October 4, declared its intention of having recourse to arms, by a proclamation;

and, after the lapse of a few hours, Napoleon Bonaparte, by accepting an appointment as second in command, under M. Barras, pledged himself to support such measures of coercion. The plea set up to justify the adoption of this line of conduct by Napoleon and his friends, rests upon the following circumstances: "That the Convention having been successively torn by factions, which were never able to acquire any stability, but incessantly varying their principles; the interior of the Republic was consequently afflicted by a horrible system of re-action; the national domains no longer found purchasers; assignats fell every day in value; the armies were without money, having been till then only supplied by requisitions and the *maximum;* the magazines were empty, and the soldiery no longer sure of being supplied with bread. Even recruiting had ceased, though the armies continued to gain great advantages, being more numerous than ever. The adherents of the Bourbons were every day increasing; Pichegru, first general of the Republic, had been gained over; finally, all parties were tired of the Convention, which was weary of itself. It had promised the nation a constitution, and at length perceived that its own safety depended on the fulfilment of the expectations which had been raised." On the 25th of June, 1795, was, therefore, adopted the constitution, known under the title of that of the year III; the government being entrusted to five persons, under the name of a Directory, and the legislature to two councils, called the Council of Five Hundred, and that of the Ancients.

The prevailing opinion then was, that the fall of the constitution of 1794 might be attributed to that law of the Constituent Assembly, which excluded its members from the legislature. The Convention, on the present occasion, did not fall into a similar error, but annexed two additional laws to the constitution, prescribing that two-thirds of the new legislature should be composed of the members of the Convention, and that the Electoral Assemblies in the departments should only have to elect one-third of the two

councils. The discontent arising from those measures became general. The royalists, in particular, found all their arrangements baffled; but the circumstance tending to bring Napoleon into greater notice than ever, was the rejection of the additional laws by the forty-eight sections of Paris, whose members assembled, and having formed as many tribunes, they were filled by the most violent orators, namely, Laharpe, Serizi, Lacretelle the younger, Vaublanc, &c.

The national guards, who were in the interest of the sections, consisted of upwards of forty thousand men The sections appeared, one after another, at the bar of the Convention, expressing their sentiments with great warmth. Government, however, regarded that commotion in the light of those riots so common in London, instances of which frequently happened in Rome, at the time of the Comitia. The Convention, therefore, proclaimed the acceptance, at the same time, of the constitution and additional laws, annulling the assembly at the Odeon, and ordering its committees to be dissolved by force. That measure was effected by the armed power, on the 10th of Vendemiaire, when the people merely gave vent to murmurs, and indulged in some raillery, but no serious resistance was offered.

On the 12th of Vendemiaire, (3d of October, 1795,) between seven and eight in the evening, General Menou, accompanied by the representatives of the people, who were commissioners to the army of the interior, proceeded, with a numerous body of troops, to the place of the meeting of the section Lepelletier; when, after spending an hour in useless negociations, they withdrew, having entered into a capitulation, without dispersing or disarming the meeting; and the section, thus triumphant, declared itself permanent, for which conduct Menou was deprived of his command.

General Bonaparte was at the theatre Feydeau, when some of his friends informed him of the singular events then passing; who, finding the conventional troops thus repulsed, hastened to their assembly, and found them in the greatest

agitation. The representatives who had been sent with Menou, to exculpate themselves, accused him of treason, and he was, therefore, put under arrest; when, in order to repair that failure, every leading representative in turn recommended the general who possessed his confidence. The members of the Committee of Public Safety proposed Napoleon, who being absent, messengers were despatched after him into the city; while he, aware of all that had been said, and knowing what was in agitation, deliberated with himself for more than half an hour, on the course most eligible to be pursued. After weighing the odium that might be attached to him, for taking part against the people in behalf of the Convention, he very judiciously concluded, that, in the event of the latter succeeding, the numerous victories, and all the blood that had been shed, would prove of no avail. The royalists and foreigners would then triumph, and load the French nation with contumely, while an insolent crew of emigrants would return to indulge their revenge, and rule by foreign force. Those sentiments—the ardour of a youth of five-and-twenty—confidence in his own powers and destiny, at length prevailed; and, having made up his mind, he went to the committee, and was immediately appointed general in chief. Having consulted Menou, Bonaparte learned that the army consisted of only five thousand soldiers of all descriptions, having forty pieces of cannon, then at Sablons, which were guarded by only fifteen men. It was after midnight when the general despatched Murat, then major of the 21st light horse, to convey the artillery in question to the garden of the Tuileries. One moment longer would have been too late, as a column of the section Lepelletier, on its march to seize those guns, was only prevented by the timely arrival of Murat and his cavalry.

On the ensuing morning, from six to nine, Napoleon visited all the posts, placing his artillery at the heads of the Pont Louis XVI., the Pont Royal, the rue de Rohan, the Pont Tournant, &c. All the matches were lighted, and the

whole of his little army distributed at the different posts, or in reserve in the garden, and the Place Carrousel. In the mean time, the *generale* was beat throughout Paris, and the national guards, who formed at all the *debouches*, were so insolent as to beat the *generale* on the Carrousel and the Place Louis XV. The danger was imminent, and matters, on the 13th Vendemiaire, became every hour more ominous, while the Convention was summoned to dismiss the troops then threatening the populace, and disarm the terrorists. The Tuileries were strictly blockaded, and, at a quarter after four, some musket shots were discharged from the Hotel de Noailles, where the sectionaries had introduced themselves; the balls from which attained the steps of the palace of the Tuileries; and Lafond's column at that precise juncture debouched by the Quay Voltaire, marching over the Pont Royal. The movement in question was sufficient; the batteries were then ordered to fire, which commenced at the Cul de Sac Dauphin, from an eight-pounder, serving as a signal to all the other posts. After several discharges had taken place, St. Roch was carried; Lafond's column routed; the Rue St. Honoré, that of St. Florentin, and the adjacent squares, being swept clear by the guns. About a hundred men attempted to make a stand at the Theatre de la Republique, but a few shells discharged from howitzers dislodged them, and, at six o'clock, all was terminated.

On the part of the sectionaries, the loss must have been very considerable, while the conventional forces suffered most at the gate of St. Roch.

The section Quinze Vingts, and that of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, were the only corps that co-operated with the Convention. Some assemblages still continued on the 14th, in the section Lepelletier, but they were soon dispersed; and, in the evening, order was completely restored, owing to the promptitude of Bonaparte's measures, so that Paris once more became perfectly tranquil.

Nothing can more forcibly tend to convey an idea of

the enthusiastic love of liberty, which filled the breasts of the French, than the melancholy event of Vendemiaire; the opposition of the sections having been the result of popular indignation, excited by the Convention arrogating to itself an illegal power, which, in their opinion, they had proved themselves unworthy of holding. This insurrection was solely confined to the capital and its environs, as some of the communes were forcibly disarmed without the barriers, when marching into the city, for the purpose of assisting the sectionaries.

On the conclusion of that disastrous business, the Convention proceeded to declare, that the laws of the 5th and 13th Fructidor had a vast majority of Frenchmen in their favour; an assertion which, however, admits of great doubt.

Thus terminated the famous 13th Vendemiaire, Barras having had, as commander, all the honour and credit attached by the Convention to the services performed during that memorable day. Napoleon was not, however, forgotten by his coadjutor, Barras; who, fully sensible of the distinguished share the former had taken in the recent transactions, determined, on the first favourable opportunity, to recompense him, though thoroughly conscious that the unpopularity of his proceedings on the 13th Vendemiaire would by no means tend to endear him with the inhabitants of Paris.

The Convention proved liberal to its protectors, loading, with praises and preferment, General Berenger and the officers who had taken a conspicuous part; while a more sterling recompence was reserved for Napoleon, through whose talents the overthrow of the sections had been brought about.

It was five days subsequent to the combat, when Barras claimed of the Convention some mark of its gratitude towards the youthful commander who had protected its sittings in the Tuileries; upon which occasion he solicited that General Bonaparte should be appointed second in command of the army of the interior, Barras continuing to hold the post

of commander in chief, which proposal was acquiesced in, amidst thunders of applause. The resentment of the Convention, however, against Menou continued unabated, he being suspected of treasonable practices.

From second in command, Bonaparte soon acquired the nomination of general in chief of the army of the interior, as Barras, filling the important post of Director, found those duties incompatible with the calls of a military commander of the capital.

After the victory acquired by the Convention over the sections, the former body displayed great moderation, which may be attributed to a recollection of the enormities practised during the Reign of Terror. Of the many leading characters who figured as sectionaries, only two were condemned to suffer; one M. Lafond, an officer who had served as a garde du corps under Louis XVI., having greatly distinguished himself for personal intrepidity, and rallying the national guards when cannonaded by grape-shot. Many individuals who fled from justice, being capitally convicted while absent, were not rigidly inquired after, and banishment was the condemnation awarded to several others. This clemency was in a great measure owing to the interference of the Conventionalists, who had been exiled on the 31st of May, and having consequently felt the effects of persecution, learned to extend mercy to others.

At the termination of that triumph over the sections, the National Convention surrendered up its authority, and then re-formed itself into a new government, under the title of a Primary Assembly, as two-thirds of the National Convention were incorporated members of the Legislative Councils of Elders and of Five Hundred.

General Menou was delivered over to a council of war, and most certainly would have suffered death, had not Bonaparte, with his usual address, insisted that the three representatives, who had been deputed with him, deserved to share the same punishment. The result was, that no proceedings were instituted against Menou. Among several

individuals condemned by this military commission young Lafond was the only one executed; he had evinced great courage; the head of his column on the Pont Royal formed again three times under the fire of grape-shot, before it entirely gave way.

Napoleon now, as commander-in-chief of the army of the Interior, had to re-organize the national guard, an object of the highest importance, as it then contained no less than 104 battalions. At the same time he formed the guard of the Directory, and re-organised that of the Legislative Body. These very circumstances were found eventually amongst the causes of his success on the famous 18th of Brumaire, when, after his return from Egypt in the year 1798, he again saved the nation from the horrors of anarchy, by changing the persons who had the administration of the affairs of government.

It seems, that upon the guard of the Legislative Body he had left such an impression, that on his return from Egypt, although the Directory had instructed the soldiers *not* to pay him any military honours, except when he was in full uniform, nothing could hinder them from beating "*To the Field,*" whenever, and in whatever dress they saw him.

It was only during a few months that Napoleon commanded the army of the Interior, and these were replete with difficulties and embarrassments. The members of the new government were not only divided amongst themselves, but often in opposition to the councils; there was still a ferment amongst the subdued sectionaries; the Jacobins assembled again, under the name of the Society of the Pantheon, and the agents of royalty formed a powerful party; the finances and paper money were in discredit; the troops were discontented, and a famine afflicted the capital to such a degree, that ten or twelve times the supply of provisions failed entirely. Thus no ordinary degree of activity and address was required to maintain

tranquillity in the capital against such a combination of calamities.

But though the Jacobins gave the Directory daily uneasiness, and the police dared not venture an open attack upon this society at the Pantheon, the General-in-chief caused it to be sealed up, and the members never stirred again whilst he was in the way. In fact, Napoleon had frequent occasion to harangue in the markets, the streets, the sections, and fauxbourgs; and here it is worthy of remark, that he always found the fauxbourg St. Antoine, (the St. Giles's of Paris), the most ready to listen to reason, and the most susceptible of a generous impulse.

One day, when the usual distribution of bread at the bakers' shops had not taken place, and while Napoleon was parading about with a part of his staff, he was alarmingly pressed upon by the crowd. A woman of a monstrous robust appearance made herself eminently conspicuous by her menacing gestures and exclamations. "Those fine epauletted fellows," said she, pointing to the officers, "laugh at our distress: so long as they can eat and grow fat, they care not if the poor die of hunger." Napoleon turned to her and said, "Good woman, look at me; which is fattest, you or I?" He was then so thin, that he described himself as a slip of parchment. A general burst of laughter disarmed the fury of the populace, and the party continued their round.

The marriage of Napoleon with Madame Beauharnois, which took place about this time, has been imputed to causes not only derogatory to the high spirit which he always possessed, but to others that seem quite unnecessary. It was sufficient that Barras, then a director, should recommend Napoleon to M. Carnot as one who had shewn his talents both at Toulon and in Paris, and as a commander most likely to serve the republic in Italy. In regard to the marriage between Napoleon and Jose-

phine, it seems an intimacy had been cemented some considerable time before his new appointment.

During the general disarming of the sections of Paris, a youth of ten or twelve years of age presented himself before the staff, entreating Bonaparte to give orders for restoring to him the sword of his father, who had been a General of the republic. This youth was Eugene Beauharnois, afterwards Viceroy of Italy. Napoleon, moved by the nature of his request, and by his juvenile grace, granted his petition; when, on beholding his father's sword, young Eugene burst into tears. The General was touched at his sensibility, and behaved so kindly to him, that Madame Beauharnois thought herself obliged to wait on him next day, to thank him for his attention. Napoleon was not long before he returned her visit. Every one knew the extraordinary grace of the Empress Josephine, her sweet and attractive manners. The acquaintance soon became intimate and tender, and it was not long before they were married. Now granting this lady had some prepossession in favour of Bonaparte, and what female might not? no method more interesting could have been devised by an intelligent woman, such as Josephine was, than that she adopted on the present occasion.

Whilst Napoleon had been thus employed in Paris, the command of the army of Italy had been given to Kellerman, an officer of much personal bravery; but who made such unskilful dispositions, that by the end of June, 1795, the army had lost the positions of Vado, St. James, and Bardinetto. General Kellerman even talked of evacuating the Genoese coast, and so alarmed the Committee of Public Safety, that they convened all the representatives who had been in Italy, in order to consult them. They justly described Napoleon as perfectly acquainted with the localities of the country, and being summoned by the committee, he convinced them, that to maintain

the line of the French army, not more than half their number was required. However, towards the end of the year, General Scherer was appointed to supersede General Kellerman, who in November had some success against the Austrian General De Vins, which he neglected to improve. The conquest of Italy, notwithstanding all these unpromising circumstances, seemed to have been reserved for Napoleon Bonaparte.

In February, 1796, the army of Italy might be considered as having no leader! General Scherer had asked for money to pay his troops; for horses to replace those that had died for want of food; and government could give him neither one nor the other; but returning evasive answers and empty promises, he declared that if any farther delay took place, he should be compelled to evacuate the Genoese territory, return to the Roya, and perhaps repass the Var. The Directory then resolved to supersede him, and Napoleon was fortunately chosen as the only man capable of extricating them from the embarrassing situation into which they had sunk. He accordingly set out for Nice a second time, and General Hatry, who was sixty years of age, came from the army of the Sambre and Meuse to succeed him in the command of the army of the Interior; a charge of minor importance, when the crisis of scarcity was over, and the government firmly established.

Napoleon was now freed from that restraint he had long felt in the capital. His genius required a theatre of much larger extent, and victories less painful, though they might be obtained with greater difficulty. His departure from Paris to commence his celebrated Italian campaign of 1796, took place on the 1st of Germinal, or the 21st of March. He was the only person who was not astonished at his good fortune. When a friend who was congratulating him upon this appointment testified some surprise at his youth, he replied, "I shall return old."

The full tide of Napoleon's glory set in from this Italian campaign. At this period the King of Sardinia, who from his military and geographical situation was called the Porter of the Alps, had fortresses at the openings of all the passages leading into Piedmont.

The French army of Italy was about 31,000 strong, whilst nearly three times their number were opposed to them, and besides had 200 pieces of cannon. The character of the French troops was excellent; but their cavalry was wretchedly mounted, and they were equally deficient in artillery. There were no means of transporting stores of any kind from the arsenals; all the draught-horses had perished through want. The penury of the French finances was so great, that the efforts of government could only furnish 2000 Louis in specie to the military chest. An order was issued for all the general officers to receive four Louis a piece, by way of outfit. The supply of bread was uncertain; that of meat had long ceased. For means of conveyance there remained only two hundred mules. It was impossible to think of transporting more than twelve pieces of cannon. Bonaparte, however, put the army in motion with the following address:—"Soldiers! you are naked, ill-fed—much is due to us; there is nothing to pay us with. The patience and courage you have shewn in the midst of these rocks are admirable; but they win you no glory. I come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world; rich provinces, great cities, will be in your power. There you will have wealth, honour, and glory. Soldiers of Italy! can your courage fail?"—These words were addressed to his troops on the 29th of March. On the 8th of April he was within a day's march of Turin, and having subdued the Sardinian government, could thus address his troops:—"You have in fifteen days gained six victories, taken twenty-one stand of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont.

Your services are equal to those of the army of Holland and of the Rhine. You were in want of every thing, but you have provided every thing. You have gained battles without cannon; passed rivers without bridges; made forced marches without shoes; bivouacked without brandy, and often without bread. None but republican phalanxes could have done so. For this you have the thanks of your country."

On his way to the head-quarters of this army he stopped thirty-six hours at Marseilles, to visit his family. There M. V. Arnault had the honour of seeing him for the first time, on the 28th of March, 1796. Always reserved, but never guilty of dissimulation, he was ever ready among a few friends to break through the habitual silence he observed in larger circles. This was the case in the evening of this day, at Marseilles. Here he entertained his friends with his projects, and even his hopes, and gradually grew so warm as to communicate to them the plan of operations that he had presented to the Committee of Public Safety, several months before they authorized him to carry it into execution.

As it is impossible to explain the objects of this Memoir, and the combinations by which they were to be obtained, with more precision than we find in the original, we cannot do better than transcribe it. This hitherto inedited document, we may be allowed to remark, will appear to be more like a real narrative than a project.

Military Memoir of the Army of Italy, presented in the year III. to the Committee of Public Safety, by General Bonaparte.

The army of the Alps and Italy occupy the highest ridge of the Alps, and some positions of the Appenine; it covers Savoy, the department of the Isere, the county of Nice, Oneille, Loano, and Vado. By means of batteries on the coast, established in the three last posi-

tions, the coasting trade of Marseilles to Nice and Genoa may be carried on in safety, and within sight of the English ships of war. The enemy has seized upon Vado, and the English squadron is moored in this superb road. The Austro-Sardes have armed a great number of cruizers. All communication with Genoa is intercepted. Commerce, which was increasing at Marseilles, has been suspended; the army of Italy, our fleet, the arsenal of Toulon, the city of Marseilles, can no longer obtain their subsistence, except from the interior of France.

The enemy's army is considerably augmented; we are obliged to oppose to him equal forces; we must then have a numerous army in that part of France the least abundant in grain, and which in the most plentiful years does not produce more than a sufficiency for three months. To ensure the subsistence of the South, of Toulon, and of the army, it is necessary to regain the position of Vado. From St. Bernard to Vado our army forms a semi-circle, whilst the enemy holds the diameter; in three or four days they can communicate from their right to their left, which we cannot do in less than two or three decades. This topographic inconvenience, so fatal to our army, so destructive to its carriages, and so burthensome to the public treasury, renders all defensive warfare highly disadvantageous.

If peace should be concluded with the German Circles, the Emperor will only have to guard the Brisgaw and his Italian states. Italy will become the theatre of the most important events. Then we shall be made sensible of all the disadvantages of our position. We ought therefore to carry on the war elsewhere, if only for the preservation of Vado. According to the present state of Europe, the King of Sardinia must desire peace. It is then necessary, by our offensive operations, first to carry the war into his states, make him see the pos-

sibility of disturbing his capital, and compel him to make peace. Secondly, oblige the Austrians to evacuate that part of his territory in which they overawe the King of Sardinia, and place ourselves in a position where we may protect Sardinia or carry on ulterior operations.

In seizing the fortress of Ceva, we shall obtain a double advantage, in collecting there the greatest part of the army, in proportion as the passage of the Cols of the Alps shall be obstructed by the snows; and in laying all the little neighbouring towns under contribution, from whence we may threaten Turin and Lombardy.

When we have seized upon Vado, the Austrians will march upon the different points that defend Lombardy; the Piedmontese will defend the issue from Piedmont. The means necessary to accelerate this separation shall be detailed in the general's instructions.

During the siege of Ceva, the Piedmontese may take positions very near to those of the Austrians, in order to obstruct the progress of our operations. But to prevent this, the army of the Alps shall re-unite in the valley of Stura, to the left of the army of Italy, and by seizing the height of Vallore, they may actually invest Demont. Every operation should be made, which would induce the enemy to believe that the siege of Demont is actually intended; by this means he will be obliged to take an intermediary position, from which he may equally observe the two sieges. This operation upon Demont is preferable to any other, because it is that where we may collect the greatest number of troops, as the whole left of the army of Italy will be naturally employed. Besides, it will tend to disquiet the enemy so much the more, because success is more connected with Ceva, and would be most fatal to Piedmont.

Our armies in Italy have perished by pestilential dis-

orders, produced by the dog-days. The best time for action and grand undertakings, when we have once introduced ourselves into the plain, is between the months of February and July. If the King of Sardinia does not make peace, we may continue our successes in Piedmont, and besiege Turin. If, as it is possible, peace should be concluded, from Ceva we may assure ourselves of Alexandria, march into Lombardy, and conquer the indemnities which we may give to the King of Sardinia for Nice and Savoy.

The theatre of war will then be in a plentiful country, strewed with great cities, and every where offering great resources for our carriages, for remounting our cavalry, and clothing the troops. If February's campaign should be successful, we shall be masters of Mantua early in the spring, and ready to seize upon the gorges of Trent, and in concert with the army that shall have passed the Rhine into the Brisgaw, carry the war into the heart of the Emperor of Austria's hereditary states. Nature has placed the Alps as the natural boundary of France; but she has also bounded the empire of Germany by the Tyrol.

To effect the object of this memoir, we propose to the committee, first, not to be too hasty in concluding a peace with the German Circles; not to ratify it till the army of Italy shall have been considerably reinforced; —to garrison Toulon with the troops embarked in the squadron, and to restore to the army a part of the troops of that garrison as soon as the peace with Spain shall have been ratified;—to send fifteen thousand men from the army of Spain to the army of Italy, and from fifteen to twenty thousand men from the armies of Germany, as soon as the peace with the Circles shall be made; and lastly, to pass the following decree:—

" The army of Italy shall attack the enemy, seize upon Vado, re-establish the defence of the road, invest Ceva,

besiege that fortress, and take it—Secondly, the right wing of the army of the Alps shall form a junction with the left of the army of Italy in the valley of Stura, invest Demont, and seize upon the height of Valloria."

Here followed several articles relative to provisioning the army.

CHAP. IV.

Bonaparte's Plan—Affair at Loano—Insubordination and Wants of the Army—Affair of Voltri—Battles of Montenotte Millesimo: Dego: Mondovi—Anecdotes—Armistice and Treaty with the King of Sardinia—Proclamation to the Soldiers by Bonaparte—Genoa—Anecdotes—The Petit Corporal—Passage of the Adda: the Po—Affair of Fombio—Death of General Laharpe—Lodi—Anecdotes—Resignation of General Beaulieu.

It is evident, that the execution of this vast plan was connected with the operations of the armies of the Rhine, which, on their part, were to open the way to the capital of Austria. The reverses that General Jourdan had experienced, having compelled General Moreau, till then uniformly successful, to make a retrograde motion, Bonaparte nevertheless pursued his march into the heart of the hereditary states of Austria, there to effect that peace which he did not believe it possible to obtain without the concurrence of three armies.

Bonaparte's plan had been shewn to several Generals by the Committee of Public Safety. Berthier, who from his experience had acquired considerable respect, bestowed very high eulogiums upon it; but added, that to carry it into execution would require fifty thousand more men. Bonaparte, however, undertook to open this

campaign with the trivial reinforcement of six thousand men from the army of the Pyrenees. From the army of the Alps he received no succour till Piedmont had been conquered; and Italy being subdued, he was on his march to Carinthia when he was joined by the division under Bernadotte, upon the borders of the Tagliamento. The first obstacles Bonaparte had to contend with, arose from his own army. After having been many months in a state of inaction, they had lately obtained several advantages under General Scherer. At Loano in particular, thirty-six thousand French dispersed fifty thousand Austrians and Sardinians, commanded by General De Vins. After this battle, which cost the enemy eight thousand men, the French took possession of Vado. It was not without some degree of discontent that the old generals saw a young man, lately their inferior, taking a command over their heads, to which each of them supposed they had a prior claim, and reaping the benefits of a plan of operations that they did not imagine originated with him.

Bonaparte, at all times more imposing by his attitude than by his stature, to a shape extremely slender, now laboured under the disadvantage of a pale and meagre visage; and the expression of his countenance was lost beneath his long hair whitened by the use of powder.—Besides, he by no means sat well on horseback, and when he rode along the ranks, the soldiers complained that a boy had been sent to command them. Bonaparte, however, soon obtained that respect for his character, that had been denied to his physical constitution. The firmness that he exhibited, put a stop to the insubordination that had prevailed in the army of Italy for some time; and before they had conquered under him, they became as submissive as at any period after his character had been established.

The successes of the army of Italy did not enrich him:

it had destroyed more than it had collected, and had not preserved any thing like what the enemy had lost. It was as necessitous before as after its victories. Bonaparte, endeavouring to stimulate the courage of his soldiers, by reminding them of their wants, and pointing out from the mountains, that Cisalpine that Hannibal promised to his Carthaginians from the Alps—"Comrades," said he, "you are in want of every thing; there you will find all you want. Cast your eyes upon the countries beneath your feet. They belong to us. Let us go and take possession."

The French army exceeded fifty-six thousand men. Napoleon hastened the opening of the campaign, though without magazines, ammunition, or a military chest. Not waiting even for the reinforcements he had been promised, he was determined to advance, certain that the rapidity of his marches would increase an army that he thought worthy to comprehend and execute his enterprising conceptions. The penury of every department of the army was urged in vain. "If we are vanquished," said he, "we shall have too much; if conquerors, we shall not want any thing." Upon his march to Lyons, one of the war commissaries having made a similar observation, he replied, "I am ordered to quarter upon the enemy;" and never was an order more punctually obeyed.

The French army was put in motion on the 29th of March; only thirty-five thousand men took the field with Bonaparte. The combined army under Beaulieu amounted to seventy-five thousand men: among these were thirty-eight thousand Imperialists.

On the 30th of March the Austrians, masters of all the heights and the debouches of the Alps, commanded the river of Genoa. The French, in possession of the Littorale, had their right at Savona, their left at Montenotte, and had thrown two demi-brigades into Voltri, in advance of their right.

Bonaparte, who had removed his head-quarters from Nice to Albinga, the better to communicate with the two wings of his army, in this manner deceived General Beaulieu, who had imagined that the object of the French was to penetrate into Italy through the Bochetta, and throw themselves upon Alexandria. After a number of feints made by him for the purpose of misleading the French, as to the point which he really meant to attack, General Beaulieu, on April 9, presented himself, all at once, before Voltri, six miles west of Genoa, with ten thousand men. The French General Cervoni, after sustaining this attack with three thousand men, retreated in the night upon the centre. This retreat was protected by fifteen hundred men stationed by Bonaparte for this purpose upon the heights of Varaggio, and in the avenues of Sospelo.

The next morning at day-break, Beaulieu and Roccavina, at the head of fifteen thousand men, carried all the positions that covered the centre of the French, and at one in the afternoon arrived before Montelisimo, the last of the French intrenchments. Had they obtained possession of this post, there would have been no obstacles in their way to Savona, only a league distant, and they might have cut off the retreat of the troops at Voltri and Varaggio, which they attempted to carry by assault; but Rampon, chief of brigade, shut up in this redoubt with 1500 men, in the midst of the fire made them take an oath to conquer or die, rather than surrender. They received the enemy with a degree of *sang froid* equal to the fury of their attack; kept them at the distance of pistol shot, and killed 400 men by the fire of their musquetry only.

Bonaparte having during the night introduced two pieces of cannon into this redoubt, departed with Berthier and Massena; and whilst La Harpe and his division took a position behind it, covered by the darkness, he moved

with the centre and the left wing of his army upon the flanks and rear of the Austrians, where Count De Argentau commanded.

By break of day Beaulieu and La Harpe were engaged at Montelisimo, when Massena's appearance threw the enemy's ranks into a confusion which was soon converted into a complete rout. Fifteen hundred killed; 2000 wounded, and the taking of many colours, were the fruits of this victory, which enabled the French to remove their head-quarters to Carcara. This victory took its name from Montenotte, a village situated in the mountains, about a league from the redoubt of Millesimo, where, not less intrepid nor less successful than Leonidas, Rampon, who survived this act of devotion to his country, reaped all the glory of Thermopylæ. For a considerable time, the general issue of the whole affair was extremely doubtful.

The battle of Montenotte, however, had not the effect of cutting off the communication between the Austrian and the Piedmontese armies. To divide them was an object of the highest importance. Impatient to obtain this result, Bonaparte ordered General La Harpe to move upon Cairo, whilst Massena seized upon the heights of Dego, and Generals Menard and Joubert occupied the summit of Biestro, and the position of St. Marguerite. By this movement, Bonaparte was in such a position, that, though they had not passed, they had at least scaled the Alps.

On the 13th of April, at day-break, General Augereau had forced the gorges of Millesimo, while Joubert and Menard were driving the enemy from all the surrounding positions. A corps of 1500 Austrians, who had intrenched themselves among the ruins of an old castle upon the mountain Cossaria, were enveloped by this manœuvre. They were commanded by General Provera, who had the credit of stopping the march of the French army till

night by the bravery of his resistance. A grenadier by his courage, and general by his genius, Joubert was the seventh man that entered the Austrian intrenchments, where he fell by a blow on the head. The supposition that he was dead, caused some hesitation in his column. General Banel then brought up another column, but was killed at its head. A third column was thrown into disorder by the death of General Quenin. Night coming on, Bonaparte collected all the battalions round the castle, and took precautions to prevent the enemy from cutting his way through them sword in hand.

The next morning at day-break, the two armies being in the presence of each other, brought on the battle of Dego. Augereau, who commanded the left of the French, held Provera blockaded in the old castle. The Austrians endeavouring to penetrate the French centre, were repulsed by General Menard, who fell back upon the right. Before one at noon General Massena had extended his line beyond the enemy's left, which occupied the village of Dego; and General La Harpe, seconded by General Causse, after having forded the Bormida under the enemy's fire, attacked the right of the Austrian left wing; General Cervoni attacked them in front, while a third column, under Adjutant-General Boyer, turned a ravine, and cut off their retreat. Whilst the army that was in the field dispersed, the corps shut up at Cossaria capitulated, and Provera surrendered his sword to Bonaparte.

The Austrians on this occasion lost 10,000 killed and prisoners. Twenty-two pieces of cannon and fifteen standards were the fruits of this victory. The French now found on the summit of the Alps, every species of ammunition and other objects which the celerity of their march had prevented them from bringing. They were now in view of a speedy junction with the division of Serrurier, who guarded the banks of the Tanaro, and the

valley of Oneglia, where General Colli held the Piedmontese in check. Thus Bonaparte increased his forces by the same operations that diminished those of the enemy.

Dego, situated at the summit of the Alps, in securing the entrance of the French into Italy, cut off the communication between the Austrian and Sardinian armies, and placed the conqueror in a situation to crush them one after the other.

Beaulieu, fully sensible of the danger of his situation, collected the best troops in his army, and at break of day on the 15th, retook Dego at the head of 7000 men. Massena endeavoured to re-enter Dego three times, and was constantly repulsed. General Causse, still more unfortunate, was killed at the head of his troops the moment he had ordered a charge. The triumph was reserved for the Generals Victor and Lasnes, who on seizing the place, found 600 Austrians killed, and made 1400 prisoners. The communication with Serrurier being completely opened, on hearing of the success of Bonaparte he marched to Ceva. The Austrians and Piedmontese being thus separated, the former fled towards Milan.

Many traits of individual bravery might be cited here. General Causse, when mortally wounded, seeing the General-in-chief, exclaimed, "Is Dego retaken?"—"The positions are ours," replied Bonaparte—"*Vive la republique!* I die content!"

Lannes also, who died a marshal of the empire, first signalized himself in these affairs in Italy. This officer had been displaced by M. Aubry, the commissioner sent by the Convention to purify the armies.

Before Bonaparte commenced this campaign of 1796, he had promised to write to M. Faypoult, French minister at Genoa. Fifteen days had elapsed, and no letter arrived, though hostilities had commenced some time.

One morning, however, about five o'clock, a domestic entered M. Faypoult's chamber in a dreadful fright, telling him to rise, as the Austrians, he said, were in the city. The minister imagined that it was probable that the enemy, after gaining some great success, might have been so elated with it, that it might have induced him to break through all measures, and to take possession of Genoa, at least provisionally. He dressed in haste, when the first secretary of the legation entering, confirmed what the domestic had said before. Determined to protest against this violation of the rights of nations, the two diplomatists proceeded to the hall of audience without delay, when they saw an Austrian general just alighting from his horse, accompanied by a body of cavalry and a numerous staff. Before M. Faypoult had time to express himself, the Austrian general delivered him a letter, which the emotions he experienced would scarcely permit him to open. This letter was from Bonaparte. Faithful to his promise, it contained an account of his victories at Montenotte and Millesimo, inviting him to provide accommodations for General Provera, who, instead of being a conqueror, as M. Faypoult supposed, was now a prisoner.

The Directory, in their dispatches to Bonaparte, expressed themselves thus: "To-day, General," said they, "receive the tribute of national gratitude; merit it more and more, and prove to Europe, that Beaulieu, by changing the scene of action, has not changed his opponent; that beaten in the North, he shall be constantly beaten by the brave army of Italy; and that with such defenders, liberty shall triumph over the impotent efforts of the enemies of the republic."

The Piedmontese being obliged to abandon Dego, were, after the battle of Mondovi on the 21st of April, obliged to evacuate Ceva and Cherasco, and take refuge

in Turin. Thus the French, being masters of the course of the Tanaro, prepared for the siege of Turin.

The Piedmontese army concentrated near Ceva, occupied an intrenched camp, which was protected by numerous redoubts, and defended by 8000 men. The indefatigable activity of Bonaparte, no longer engaged by Beaulieu, was now directed against Colli. Several positions about Ceva were taken on the 16th of April. On the 17th, Augereau's division attacked the redoubts of Ceva; and Colli, for fear of being turned, evacuated his camp in the night. On the 18th, Serrurier entered Ceva, and invested the citadel. Colli, in the mean time, had taken a formidable position at the confluence of the Corsaglia and the Tanaro, having broken the bridges and covered the banks of these rivers with strong batteries, which occasioned the retreat of Augereau and Massena towards Ceva with some loss.

Bonaparte, thus prevented from advancing upon Mondovi, employed a variety of manœuvres to draw Colli out of his strong-hold, in vain. On the night of the 21st, he ordered Massena to pass the Tanaro, who took possession of Lezegno, while the Generals Guieux and Fiorella seized upon the bridge of La Torre. Augereau, marching to Alba, was hastening to place himself between the Piedmontese army under Colli and Turin, both of which he threatened at the same time. Colli again fearing the issue of a battle, left an intrenched camp in the night, and fell back upon Mondovi. This movement did not escape the vigilance of Bonaparte; he caused him to be pursued by General Serrurier, who came up with the rear of the Piedmontese army at daybreak on the 22nd, upon the heights of Vico. The Piedmontese centre, covered by redoubts, was attacked and taken by Generals Fiorella and Dammartin, while General Guieux manœuvred towards Mondovi. General Colli

again abandoned the field of battle, and retreated through Mondovi, which in the evening was in possession of the French. On the side of the French, they had to regret the death of General Stengel, mortally wounded at the head of his cavalry whilst in pursuit of the flying enemy.

Cherasco, the next place to which Colli retreated, did not hold out long against Massena, which he entered on the 5th of April. Fossano, the enemy's head-quarters, was taken possession of by Serrurier, whilst Augereau's division seized upon Alba. The French army was now within nine leagues of Turin, and plentifully supplied with every necessary. To protect Turin, Colli retired to Carignan.

Shut up in his capital with the wreck of an army that had been beaten every time they fought, Victor Amedeus the Third, appeared resolved to sustain a siege. Happily for him, warrior as he had been, he did not persist in that imprudent disposition. This prince, who had made several campaigns with his father, not much in favour of the French, judging of the present by the past, did not at first suppose that a *petit caporal*, a little republican corporal, could beat the old generals of kings; and he could not imagine why General Beaulieu, who had promised him never to pull off his boots till he came to Lyons, should have taken quite a contrary route. At length, roused from his incredulity by the murmurs of the public, and reposing confidence in himself in proportion as he withdrew it from others, "Ah!" said he, pulling up his small clothes—"*if I go: if I go,*"—every time he learnt the news of a new defeat—Bonaparte, however, saved him the trouble of going. Acknowledging, in fine, that it was necessary to seek the means of safety in negotiations when they could no longer be expected from arms, this old king resigned himself to his fate. Colli was authorized to propose an armistice to the French general,

during which the treaty of peace should be carried on at Genoa under the mediation of the Court of Spain. The king hoped by these means to gain time for using his own resources, or of obtaining succour from his allies.

Bonaparte answered, that the Directory having reserved to itself the right of making war, the king must send plenipotentiaries to Paris. As to the armistice, he added, that however ardently he wished to put a stop to the shedding of human blood, he could not suspend his victorious march, but upon condition of having two or three fortresses put into his hands, Coni, Tortoni, and Alexandria. In the meanwhile, he made every disposition for a general engagement that must have decided the fate of Amedeus, who not being willing to leave any thing to chance, yielded to the propositions of the conqueror, and Coni, Tortoni, and the citadel of Ceva, were given up to the French, to be occupied by them till the conclusion of a general peace.

Events had already proved the justness of the combinations developed in the first part of Bonaparte's plan: impatient to perform the rest, the General was soon in pursuit of Beaulieu. Bonaparte had foreseen, that the Austrian general would seek refuge in Lombardy, and endeavour to cover that duchy; but he now thought it necessary to draw closer the bands of discipline, and to repress the spirit of pillage, to which the soldiers had given themselves up with a degree of avidity equal to that of famished wolves descending from the mountains after suffering two years of privations. Such an abuse of power, he said, would sooner or later turn against the conqueror, and produce an hostile army in the population. The return of plenty had rendered pillage inexcusable.

A proclamation previously directed against pillagers, was followed by some examples of severity. We may judge of its good effects by this letter from a miner,

named La Touche, written at the moment he was going to be shot:—"You see, comrades, to what I am reduced; and you, commander of the detachment, if you had not permitted me to go a marauding, I should not have been exposed to the death I am going to suffer. Adieu, comrades, adieu!"—La Touche, with tears in his eyes, only regretted that he did not die in the defence of his country; but consoled himself in the hope that his death would serve as an example to his countrymen.

The attention of the General extended to the depredators: in prohibiting the soldiers from pillage, it was proper to prevent the soldiers from being pillaged.

Order being restored, the army advanced in pursuit of victories. General Beaulieu was not without apprehensions for the Milanese. He knew the man with whom he had to contend; not being able to guard every point, he did not know which to fortify against an enemy that threatened all. This anxiety was not the first homage the old general had paid to the genius of his young rival, whose superiority he had acknowledged, when one of Bonaparte's first manœuvres induced him to attack Voltri, whilst the French army was marching towards Montenotte.

The occupation of Voltri by the French made him believe their design was to enter Genoa; he was obliged soon after the retreat of General Cervoni to approach that city, and throw in reinforcements. His surprise was great, when he found, that in proportion as he approached Genoa, the French had not even appeared in that direction. But he was astonished, when he found that Bonaparte was advancing with all his force towards Piedmont, by way of Montenotte.

At this time some of the inhabitants of Genoa, seeing the Austrians descending from the mountains, came out of the city to enquire the cause of these movements,

One among them questioned two travellers that had stopped near a broken carriage, saying, "Cannot you tell us what all this signifies?"—"It signifies," replied an elderly gentleman, "that a man of seventy-four years of age has been duped by a young man of twenty-six." This gentleman is said to have been General Beaulieu himself.

The surprise excited by Napoleon's military tactics having been alluded to in this chapter, this perhaps may be further illustrated by several anecdotes, and among them the following:

"Bonaparte's new system of military movements excited universal attention. This campaign was scarcely opened, when Lombardy was inundated with troops in every direction, and the French approached Mantua *pêle mêle* with the enemy. Napoleon, when in the vicinity of Pizzighitone, saw a tall German colonel, a prisoner, and questioning him without being known, as to how affairs were going on, was told, 'very badly.'—'I know how it will end,' said he; 'but no one seems to understand what they are about: we have been sent to fight a young blockhead, who attacks us on the right and the left, in the front and in the rear, so that we know not how to proceed. This mode of warfare is unbearable, and I am very glad to have done with it.'"

The appellation of *petit caporal*, as applied to Bonaparte, has also been mentioned; but an anecdote confirming this, has been related by Napoleon himself. When he commanded near the Col di Tende, the army was obliged to pass over a narrow bridge: he gave directions that no women should be allowed to accompany it, as the service was a most difficult one, and required the troops to be continually on the alert. To enforce this order, he placed two captains on the bridge, with instructions, on pain of death, not to permit a woman to pass. He afterwards went to the bridge himself, to see

that these orders were obeyed, where he found a crowd of women assembled, who, as soon as they perceived him, began to revile him, bawling out, "Oh then, *petit caporal*, is it you who have given orders not to let us pass?"—Some miles farther on, he was astonished to see a considerable number of women with the troops. He immediately ordered the two captains to be put under arrest, and brought before him, intending to have them tried immediately. They protested their innocence, and asserted that no woman had crossed the bridge. Bonaparte caused some of those dames to be brought before him, when to his astonishment, by their own confession, he found they had emptied some casks of the provisions, concealed themselves in them, and passed over unperceived. But it seems a singular custom was established in the army of Italy. After each battle, the oldest soldiers used to hold a council, and confer a new rank on their young General, who, when he made his appearance in the camp, was received by the veterans, and saluted by his new title. They made Bonaparte a *corporal* at Lodi, and a *serjeant* at Castiglione; and hence the surname of *petit caporal*, which for a long time was applied to him by the soldiers. Well may he be considered not only as wonderful, but without a parallel in history, whose monuments cover a great part of Europe, as his name once filled it with admiration.

Although Bonaparte had thus defeated two armies, and detached one of the kings from the coalition against France, he could not allow any respite to his troops.

Notwithstanding his defeats, Beaulieu left Piedmont with 30,000 men, including 4000 cavalry. This army was soon increased by reinforcements from the Tyrol. Bonaparte in the interim, availing himself of the treaty of Cherasco, observed, by this means, that "one wing of the enemy's army gave him time to beat the other," pursued Beaulieu. He expected reinforcements from the army of

the Alps, but he advanced towards the Po without waiting for them, thus supplying the insufficiency of his forces by the ability of his manœuvres, and finding in his past success the guarantee of future victories.

Beaulieu, disconcerted by Bonaparte's tactics, endeavoured to maintain himself in Piedmont by acts of perfidy—by seizing of Alexandria, Tortone, and Valenza, in contempt of the alliance which existed between the Emperor his master and the King of Sardinia. Happily his designs were discovered: the Piedmontese commanders remained faithful, and the king, indignant at such an attempt, declared, that if the Austrians did not evacuate his territory within a time given, his troops should join with the French in expelling them. Beaulieu consequently repassed the Po, taking with him the Neapolitan cavalry, that had actually seized upon Valenza. The Piedmontese re-entered this place on the 2d of May, 1796. The fugitive army had effected its escape by the bridge, which it had broken up, but which nevertheless was soon re-established.

Again deceived by appearances, Beaulieu did not imagine the French, though masters of Tortone, could pass the Po between the Tesino and the Adda, either at Cremona or at Plaisance. After having indulged Beaulieu's error by false movements, Bonaparte suddenly advanced by a forced march to Castello San Giovani with three thousand grenadiers and fifteen hundred horse. He arrived here on the 6th of May, at eleven at night, and at seven in the morning he was at Plaisance. Impatient to pass the river Po, the French threw themselves into light barks, and the intrepid Lannes at the head of the grenadiers, charged the Austrian hussars on the other side, and forced them to retreat. In the course of the day the whole of the French army had passed this river without difficulty.

Beaulieu now found that the time and labour employed

in erecting fortifications upon the Tesino, and redoubts round Pavia, had been useless. He despatched six thousand foot and two thousand cavalry to oppose the debarkation of the French, or surprise them ere they should have time to form; but it was too late, as Bonaparte had set forward in quest of the Austrians, at the time they had been despatched to attack him.

On the 8th, at noon, learning that an enemy's division was not distant, he marched towards Fombio, and found them most advantageously intrenched in a position defended by twenty pieces of cannon. Notwithstanding the fatigue previously endured by the troops, they wished to commence an immediate attack. The enemy having resisted two hours, was then obliged to retire towards the Adda, with the loss of a number of men and horses, and the greater part of their baggage. Lasnes upon that occasion gave proofs of his astonishing intrepidity: at the head of a single battalion, he attacked between seven and eight thousand Austrians, and not content in causing their flight, he pursued them ten miles, following the trot of their cavalry on foot.

The night subsequent to the glorious day of Fombio, was, however, distinguished by a fatal event. Beaulieu having received intelligence of the defeat of his troops at the above place, marched, under favour of the night, to Codogno, with a view of surprising a French division occupying the same. He arrived about two in the morning, and had already overthrown the advanced posts, when General La Harpe, mounting his horse on the first alarm, presented himself, and restored order. His escort, when he returned, was composed of hussars, who, owing to the darkness of the night, were mistaken for the enemy's hulans, and received a volley, whereby La Harpe was killed. Bonaparte, in announcing his death, traced his eulogium in few words:— "The Republic," said he, "has lost a man who was devoted to its interests; the army one of its best generals; and every soldier a companion."

La Harpe was one of the most experienced generals of

the army of Italy. Born of a noble family in the Pays de Vaud, yet a zealous partisan of liberty, he was proscribed in consequence of the efforts made to liberate his country from the Swiss yoke. The French army received him, and, from 1792, he had fought to preserve to his adopted country that independence he in vain attempted to acquire for his native soil. No less well informed than intrepid, he was among those officers who had been displaced by the commissary Aubry, for want of civism or ability. The general in chief shared in the regrets of the soldiery, for the loss of this brave man. He also transferred his kindness to the son, to whom he became guardian; and, some time after, when the Swiss solicited Bonaparte's protection, it was granted, on condition of restoring to young La Harpe the property of his father, which had been confiscated by the lords of Berne.

General Berthier pursued the enemy to Casal, of which he took possession; and the Dukes of Parma and Modena, on whose territory the French had then entered, were compelled to sue for peace, and surrender a number of valuable paintings, which were transferred to the Museum at Paris.

Well aware that his conquest would never be consolidated till the Austrian army was totally vanquished, and deprived of all its Italian possessions, Bonaparte hastened to pursue the enemy to Lodi, situated on the river Adda, where General Beaulieu had collected his forces. On the approach of the French, the imperialists abandoned the town with such precipitancy, that they had not time to destroy the bridge.

The structure in question is one hundred toises long, and although not destroyed, was no less difficult to pass, being defended by ten thousand men, and thirty pieces of cannon. Full of confidence in his artillery, the Austrian general had only left one battalion, and some squadrons of cavalry in advance, to dispute the passage with the French; when General D'Allemagne, who commanded the advanced guard, attacked, and forced it to repass the Adda. The Austrians, however, contrived to bring up a number of

cannon, and establish formidable batteries, thus obtaining a cross fire, that rendered the passage hazardous in the extreme; so that it was the opinion of the best French engineers, it ought not to be attempted. However, after a cannonade had been tried in vain, no consideration could resist the impetuosity of the soldiers or their leaders; and, on the 10th of May, four thousand grenadiers being formed into a solid column, made a sudden charge, and had proceeded six hundred feet, exactly half the length of the bridge, when they became exposed to such an incessant shower of grape-shot, that their foremost ranks were entirely swept away; and the troops, who had previously advanced at a quick pace, with bent heads and extended bayonets, staggered, and began to hesitate. At that critical moment, Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, and D'Allemagne, issuing from the ranks, invited the grenadiers to renew the attack; while Bonaparte in person, seizing a standard, placed himself at their head. Animated to the highest degree of enthusiasm by such an example, the troops rushed by their generals with resistless impetuosity, amidst cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" In a few moments the fate of the day was decided; the Austrian line broken; their death-spreading batteries seized; when the imperial troops stood petrified at the madness and success of the enterprise. "Of all the actions in which the soldiers under my command have been engaged," said Bonaparte, in his despatch to the Directory, "none has equalled the tremendous passage of the bridge of Lodi. If we have lost," continued he, "but a *few* soldiers, it was merely owing to the promptitude of our attacks, and the sudden effect produced on the enemy by the formidable fire from our invincible army. Were I to name all the officers who distinguished themselves in this affair, I should be obliged to enumerate every carabinier of the advanced guard, and almost every officer belonging to the staff. I must not, however, omit the intrepid Berthier, who acted on this eventful day as a bombardier, a cavalry officer, and a gre-

nadier." After the battle, Bonaparte having demanded the names of the carabiniers who had distinguished themselves most, they sent him the muster roll of the entire battalion. Among the grenadiers, one, named Laforge, threw himself into the enemy's intrenchments, and killed six hulans with his own hand.

In the mean while, the French Generals Rusca, Augereau, and Bayrand, had passed the Adda at a ford, a few miles below Lodi, commencing their attack on the rear of the Austrians, at the very time when they thought the French were only on one side of the river. That circumstance decided the fortune of the day. In vain did the Austrian cavalry endeavour to protect the retreat of the infantry, by charging the French. The imperialists were routed, with the loss of twenty pieces of cannon, and between two and three thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The brave but unfortunate Beaulieu, with the wreck of his army, then sought refuge under the cannon of Mantua, having abandoned Pizzighitone, Cremona, and the whole of Lombardy to the French. The Austrians evacuated Milan a few days after that event, and the tricoloured flag floated from the extremity of the Lake of Como, and the Grison country, as far as the gates of Parma. Twenty-one Austrian and Piedmontese standards were in consequence transmitted to Paris.

Cremona surrendered without firing a gun; and at Pavia, all the imperial magazines fell into the hands of the French. Beaulieu, who had retreated behind the Mincio, proceeded to collect forces in the interior of the Tyrol, and gave up his command to General Wurmser, who, after obtaining some success, was also defeated at Lonado, Castiglione, Salo, and Gavado. It was no less the fate of that veteran general to surrender to the French, with the almost impregnable fortress of Mantua, after having sustained a siege of uncommon duration, as will appear in the progress of these Memoirs.

CHAP. V.

Consternation experienced at Milan—Public Entry of Bonaparte—Treaty of Cherasco, between the King of Sardinia and the Directory—Revenue derived from Italy—Bonaparte's Interview with the learned Men at Milan.—Proclamation to the Soldiers—Insurrections at Pavia, Milan, and Binasco—Passage of the Mincio—General Gardanne—Gaiety of the French troops—Narrow Escapes of Bonaparte—General Beaulieu succeeded by Marshal Wurmser—French Grenadiers before Mantua—Treaty between France and Naples—Negociations with the Pope—Alarm at Rome—Seizure of Leghorn—Bonaparte entertained by the Grand Duke of Tuscany—Insurrections near Genoa—Perilous situation of the French Army—Raising of the Siege of Mantua—General Junot—Lonado—Stratagem—Battles of Castiglione and Bassano—The Dog and his dead Master.

The uninterrupted successes of Bonaparte had thrown Milan into a state of inquietude, that was soon converted into terror. The nobility, clergy, administration, and even the citizens, had neglected nothing that could stimulate the courage of the populace. Colours were distributed, processions ordered, rewards promised, and, by the aid of voluntary contributions, the nobility, persons in office, and citizens, had provided a fund for the support of the widows and orphans of those who might fall in defence of their country; thus, while the ladies went about collecting, the soldiers were fighting, and the priests invoking the blessings of heaven.

As long as the danger appeared distant, there were some hopes; but those vanished, in proportion as the enemy approached. When news arrived at Milan, of the passage of the Po, hope was converted into dismay, and the battle of Lodi followed by despair. The family of the Archduke abandoned Milan with the greatest precipitation, and the court hastened to follow that example, which was adopted by all who enjoyed consideration from their rank or fortune; some influenced by terror, and others excited by vanity. The magistrates conceiving they had a right to follow the example of the nobles, Milan was left without any government, at a time when it had the greatest need of such protection. The consequence was, the arrival of the

French became ardently wished for by numbers who had previously deprecated that event as the greatest of evils. Such proved the state of public feeling, when the army presented itself at the gates of the city, on the 14th of May.

General Bonaparte, who followed close upon Massena, made his public entry into the capital of Lombardy the following day, having received the keys of the city from the hands of a deputation sent to Marignan. Count Melzi, at the head of the nobles, proceeded to meet Napoleon as far as Melezuolo. At the Roman gate of Milan, Bonaparte found an immense population, and the civic guard formed in a double line to receive him. On that occasion, he marched amidst the grenadiers of Lodi, among whom some generals were conspicuous. Enthusiasm was then at its height; military symphonies, executed by the Milanese and French musicians, intermingled with the acclamations of the people, during the triumphant march to the palace of the Archduke, where a splendid banquet had been prepared. The *fête* was terminated by a brilliant ball, at which the Milanese ladies were dressed according to the French mode. During that triumph, the victor meditated fresh conquests; and his first operation was to invest the citadel, wherein the Austrians had left two thousand men, that force having entered into an agreement with the citizens not to fire upon the place.

Independent of seizing the specie in the military chest, a contribution of twenty millions was imposed upon Milan, to collect which, it was agreed the silver used in the churches should be melted down, and placed to the account; at which period the French troops first began to receive pay in money. On the same day Bonaparte entered Milan, the treaty with the King of Sardinia and the Directory was signed at Paris. That prince detached himself from the coalition, renounced for ever, for himself and his successors, all right to Savoy, the counties of Nice, De Tende, and De Bueil, surrendering to the conquerors, independently of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, Valenza or Alexandria, according to the choice of the

general in chief. The fortresses of Exiles, Chateau Dauphin, Assiette, Suza, and La Brunette, were also given up to the French; the three first to be occupied, and the two last demolished under the inspection of French commissioners, at the expense of his Sardinian majesty.

Other negociations had been very advantageous, but the treaties with Parma and Modena were of trifling utility. The principalities that contained no strong places had carried on war with gold; it was, therefore, proper that they should redeem themselves by means of the same precious metal. Independent of munitions of all kinds, the Duke of Parma was taxed two millions; while the Duke of Modena paid dearer for his liberation, being mulcted in ten millions, only one-fourth of which was to be payable in goods.

From that period, the army of Italy was no longer a burthen, but a source of revenue to France, and assisted in paying other armies. Six weeks after the opening of the campaign, independent of ten millions placed at the disposal of the Directory, Bonaparte sent upwards of two hundred thousand francs to the army of the Alps, and a million to the army of the Rhine; thereby paving the way for his future greatness.

Thirty-two standards taken at Montenotte, Millesimo, and Mondovi, had been sent to Paris with the treaty of Cherasco, when the Directory received them with Murat at a public sitting, which was followed by a *fête* in honour of Victory, celebrated in the *Champ de Mars*. At this festival, alike civil and military, crowns were distributed, not only to all the armies, represented by their standards, but also to the wounded, who were crowned in person. The arts alike concurred in the embellishment of that triumph, as the odes of Chenier and Le Brun were set to music by Mehul and Catel, thus celebrating Heroism by Genius.

This hilarity, however, was accompanied by an opposite feeling. The Directory, under an impression that Bonaparte had till then pursued his own plans, thought it

was high time for him to adopt theirs; in fact, they wanted to divert him from pursuing the route to Germany, which he had opened by the battle of Lodi, in order to employ Kellerman in his place, and despatch him to the south of Italy. Napoleon, however, offered to surrender up the command, when they desisted from prosecuting their purpose. In his apology, Bonaparte observed, that he believed it was better to have one bad general than two good ones. The right to command, which he possessed in a very eminent degree, appeared so undeniable, that every one yielded assent, from the general to the private. Upon one occasion, when complaining to Berthier that the measures prescribed for provisioning the army had not been followed, "This," said Berthier, "is astonishing; however, I have given *my orders* for that purpose."—"What do you call *your orders?*" replied Bonaparte, briskly. "Here is only one man possessing any right to issue orders, and that is myself; it is the business of the rest to obey. To begin, therefore, with you, sir: mount your horse, and see that *my* orders are attended to."

While Napoleon continued at Milan, the celebrated Oriani paid him a visit; when, on entering, the astronomer was astonished, and unable to return an answer to the General's multifarious questions; but, recovering from his surprise, he said, "Excuse me—this is the first time I have ever entered these superb apartments; my eyes are not accustomed," &c.—thus pronouncing a severe criticism on the government of the Archduke. The attention of the General to fulfil the wishes of the Directory conciliated the minds of the learned men of Italy. It confirmed them in the idea, that France, whose glory arts and letters had so much increased, abjured the system of ignorant beings, who endeavoured to replunge her into barbarism; and that her intention was to render to the sciences that protection she had so wisely and for so long a period granted them.

In writing to Oriani, Bonaparte seemed to communicate his sentiments to all the learned men of Italy. "In Milan,"

said he, "the learned did not enjoy the consideration to which they were entitled. Retired in their closets, they thought themselves happy, if kings and priests did them no harm. It is now no longer the case; opinion is free in Italy. I invite," said the General, "the learned to assemble, and propose to me their sentiments on the means necessary to be taken, or the aid they may require, in order to infuse new life and vigour into the sciences and fine arts. The French nation sets a greater value upon the acquisition of a learned mathematician, a painter of reputation, or any one who has distinguished himself, whatsoever may have been his profession, than in the richest and most abundant city. Be you then, citizen, the organ of those sentiments to all at Milan, who are distinguished for their learning."

According to each treaty, subsequent to the conquest of Piedmont, that of Cherasco excepted, a special article was introduced, conferring upon the French the right of selecting the choicest specimens of painting, sculpture, &c. in the public collections, and of transmitting them to France.

It was not without regret that Italy ceded those objects of its worship; those pledges of her past glory. To ransom a single painting, that of St. Jerome, the Prince of Parma offered a million, which his subjects must have paid. It was from Venice and Rome that the Museum of Paris reaped the richest harvest.

After having employed eight days in providing for the army, and forming a provisional government for Lombardy, Bonaparte left Milan, with a sufficient number of troops to blockade the Austrians in the citadel, Beaulieu having in the interim retired behind the Mincio. Previous to the commencement of his march in pursuit of the Austrian army, Bonaparte addressed the following proclamation to his troops:—

"Soldiers! you have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the summit of the Appenines; you have driven back and dispersed all that opposed your march. Pied-

mont, liberated from the Austrian tyranny, has yielded to her natural sentiments of peace and amity towards France. Milan is yours; and the republican flag floats throughout Lombardy; while the Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence solely to your generosity. The army which so haughtily menaced you, finds no barrier to secure it from your courage. The Po, the Tesino, and the Adda, have been unable to arrest your progress for a single day. Those boasted ramparts of Italy proved insufficient; you have surmounted them as rapidly as you cleared the Appenines. So much success has diffused joy through the bosom of your country. Yes, soldiers, you have performed much; but is there nothing more for you to accomplish? Shall it be said of us, that we knew how to conquer, but knew not how to profit by victory? Shall posterity reproach us with having found a Capua in Lombardy? But I already see you rushing to arms; an unmanly repose fatigues you, and the days lost to glory are lost to your happiness.

"Let us set forward; we have still forced marches to perform, enemies to conquer, laurels to gather, and injuries to avenge. Let those tremble who have whetted the poniards of civil war in France, who have like dastards assassinated our ministers, and burned our ships in Toulon. The hour of vengeance is arrived, but let the people be tranquil: we are the friends of all nations, particularly the descendants of the Brutuses, the Scipios, and those illustrious persons we have chosen for our models. To restore the Capitol, replace with honour the statues of the heroes who rendered it renowned, and rouse the Roman people, become torpid by so many ages of slavery,—such will be the fruit of your victories. You will then return to your homes, and your fellow citizens, when pointing to you, will say, 'He was of the army of Italy!'"

Scarcely had the French left Milan, apparently with the same testimonials of affection on the part of the people as when they had been first received, ere General Despinoy observed mobs assembling in the suburbs of the city, on the

side of Pavia, when he ordered a party of troops to march thither, whom the rebels attempted to disarm; but the detachment having wounded and captured a few, the rest sought safety in flight. This movement, however, was combined with others, which took place at the same time in Vareza, Pavia, and Lodi. The *tocsin* was sounded throughout the country, while the priests and nobles excited the massacre of the French commissaries; and persons employed in the public administration were equally assassinated by the peasants on the roads.

In fact, a grand conspiracy seemed to have been forming throughout Lombardy, where it was industriously circulated, that Nice was captured by the English; that the army of Condé had arrived by way of Switzerland, on the confines of the Milanese; and that Beaulieu, reinforced with sixty thousand men, was on his march for Milan. The conspiracy at the latter place was rendered abortive by an unforeseen event. When the fatal *tocsin* was to have been rang, it was found that the rope was cut; which was understood to have been done by one of the chaplains belonging to the church, who was a native of Corsica. Bonaparte, soon after hearing of the disturbance, set out for Milan, with three hundred horse and a battalion of grenadiers, when, after taking measures to prevent a fresh insurrection, he left that city for Pavia. Seven or eight hundred armed peasants were intrenched in the vicinity of Binasco; Lasnes, at the head of a moveable column, dispersed them, killing about a hundred, and burning the village. Though necessary, Bonaparte observed, the spectacle was not less horrible:—"I was affected by it," said he, "but I foresaw that Pavia was threatened with still greater calamities!" Previous to the adoption of vigorous measures at the latter place, Bonaparte neglected no means of conciliation. Escorting with him the Archbishop of Milan, he made that ecclesiastic his organ to address the abused multitudes who covered the walls; but neither the persuasions of the prelate, or the proclamation sent into

the place, were attended to. Eight thousand peasants had arrived to assist the Pavians, so that the castle was taken, and the French troops made prisoners. Early in the morning of the 26th, the artillery was ordered to advance, and, after a few discharges, the rebels were summoned to lay down their arms; but they returned for answer, they never would obey, while the place had walls. The gates were then forced with hatchets, and the multitudes dispersed, though they still threw down tiles from the tops of the houses, attempting in vain to dispute the entry of the troops into the streets. Thrice had the order to set fire to the city expired on Bonaparte's lips, when the garrison of the castle arrived, who had burst their fetters, and hastened to embrace their deliverers. Their names were called over, and none found missing. If the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, the General had resolved to raise, on the ruins of Pavia, a column, on which these words were to have been inscribed:—"*Here stood the City of Pavia.*" He then ordered the municipality to be shot, while two hundred hostages were arrested, and sent immediately to France.

Bonaparte instantly resumed his march, having published a second proclamation, whereby, for the security of the peaceable citizens, he threw the responsibility for the future upon those two classes that had provoked the late disturbances. "The French army," said he, "as generous as it is strong, will treat the peaceable inhabitants with fraternal kindness; but to the rebels, and such villages as protect them, it will be as terrible as the fire of heaven."

At no place were these measures more necessary than at Milan; the riches and population of that city gave it a considerable influence over every other part of Lombardy. Still the necessary rigour that had been pursued, occasioned infinite regret in the mind of Bonaparte. Such, however, was not the case with all his soldiers; as those addicted to pillage, having made considerable booties, upon their return to Milan, expressed a very different kind of feeling. Observing

the costly articles displayed in the shop windows of the goldsmiths and jewellers, with which the city abounds, one of them exclaimed to his comrade, "You will see those villanous shopkeepers will be such scoundrels, as not to afford us the chance of another insurrection."

After Beaulieu's defeat at Lodi, he had fled for refuge behind the Oglio; but not finding that barrier sufficiently strong to protect him from the impetuosity of the French, he fell back to the other side of the Mincio, and established himself in a very advantageous position, between Lake Garda and Mantua. To defend the passage of the Mincio, his whole line had been carefully strengthened by batteries; he was also master of Peschiera, a Venetian fortress, and the bridges of Revolta, Goita, and Borghetto; while his army had been augmented by a reinforcement of twenty thousand choice troops sent to defend Mantua. It was also remarked, that among the generals Bonaparte had then to contend with, were Colli, who, after signing the treaty of Cherasco, had entered into the Austrian service, and Melas, whose celebrity was increased after signing the treaty that followed the battle of Marengo. The head-quarters of the French army having been transferred to Brescia, on the 28th of May, the war was fated to be carried on upon the Venetian territory. Bonaparte, whose intention was to cross the Mincio in the centre of the Austrian line, and force the bridge of the Borghetto, manœuvred in such a manner as to draw the attention of the enemy to some other point, and induce General Beaulieu to suppose that, in pushing his right towards Riva, he wished to turn him by the head of Lake Garda, in order to cut him off from the road leading to the Tyrol. All the divisions of the army were therefore kept back, so that the right, by which he really meant to attack, was at the distance of a day and a half march from the imperialists, and posted behind the Chiusa, where it seemed to act merely on the defensive. According to this plan, General Rusca had advanced northward to Salo, with a demi-brigade of light infantry, while

General Kilmaine, with fifteen hundred cavalry, frequently approached the walls of Peschiera, skirmishing with the Austrian advanced posts; on one of which occasions General Liptay, an Austrian officer, was killed.

On the 29th, Augereau's division replaced that of Kilmaine at Dezenzano, which fell back to Castiglione, Massena moving to Monte Chiaro and Serrurier to Monza; and, two hours after midnight, all those divisions were on their march towards Borghetto. The approach to that position was defended by three or four thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred horse. The French cavalry, flanked by the carabiniers and grenadiers, who followed in order of battle, charged the enemy's horse, threw them into disorder, and took one piece of cannon; when the Austrians passed the bridge with precipitancy, and broke down one of its arches. While the French were labouring to repair the same, under the fire of the enemy's batteries, impatient of delay, fifty grenadiers threw themselves into the river, holding their muskets over their heads, with the water up to their chins; General Gardanne, a grenadier in courage, as well as in stature, being at their head. The Austrians, recollecting the terrible column at Lodi, those who were nearest fled; when the bridge was repaired, the river passed, and, in a few minutes, the French entered Vallegio, where Beaulieu's head-quarters had been stationed a short time previous.

The Austrians rallying, drew up in order of battle, between Vallegio and Villa-franca, in expectation of a general engagement; but Bonaparte refused the combat, though it was with difficulty he restrained the impetuosity of his soldiers. The intent of such refusal upon his part was to give time to Massena's division to proceed to Peschiera, envelope that place, block up the route to the Tyrol, and thus completely cut off the retreat of Beaulieu. Fortunately for the Austrian general, he received timely information of Augereau's movements by his patrols; and, protected by a fresh corps of cavalry, which arrived during the night, he

avoided his absolute ruin, in retiring by the route of Castel Nuovo. Murat and Leclerc distinguished themselves greatly on that occasion; the one at the head of his cavalry, and the other with the chasseurs. Augereau, finding Peschiera evacuated by the Austrians, took possession of the place.

On the 31st, at day-break, the French army arrived at Rivoli, but the enemy had already passed the Adige, and destroyed most of the bridges. In this affair they lost fifteen hundred men, and five hundred horses; Prince Cuto, general of the Neapolitan cavalry, being among the number of prisoners. Thus the Austrians were driven out of Italy, and the French advanced posts reached the German mountains. In those different engagements, the grenadiers had learned to sport and laugh at death; being accustomed to despise the Austrian cavalry, while nothing could equal their intrepidity, but the gaiety with which they performed their forced marches, singing alternately songs in praise of their country and of love. Instead of sleeping, they amused themselves during most of the night, each telling his tale, or forming *his own* plan of operations for the following day.

The occupation of Verona, containing three bridges over the Adda, was of the highest importance to Bonaparte. Massena entered that city on the 3d of June, which had been for some time the refuge of Louis Stanislaus, brother of Louis XVI. Whensoever France had complained of his having been received and welcomed there, the answer of the Venetians was, that Louis being a noble Venetian, had a right to reside in their territory; but their confidence had now given way to terror. The podestat of Venice received orders to intimate to the fugitive prince, that he must quit their dominions, when his answer proved worthy of his rank. "I shall go," said he, "but I demand the golden book, in which the names of the nobles are inscribed, that I may erase those of my family; and I also demand the restoration of the sword which my ancestor Henry IV. presented to the republic."—In reply, the prince was told, that

the Senate could erase his name; but that a sum of twelve millions being still due to the republic of Venice, on account of Henry, his sword should be restored, if Louis would pay the money.

While the troops were passing the stream, Napoleon, with a small retinue, continued at Vallegio, while Massena's division was still on the right bank of the Mincio, cooking their dinners. On a sudden, the advanced guard of Sebottendorf pushed into the place, so that there was scarcely time to cry to arms, when the gates of the inn were closed, and Bonaparte effected his escape through the garden; when, mounting his horse, he proceeded at full speed to join Massena's troops. It was the narrow escape in question that prompted Bonaparte to institute a guard, called *Le Corps des Guides*, consisting of veterans, who should number at least ten years of actual service, to be employed in cases where the most desperate courage was required. At the head of that troop was placed Bessieres, subsequently created Duke d'Istria and Marshal of France, which body of men afterwards constituted the celebrated phalanx of Napoleon's Imperial Guard.

During the same campaign, Bonaparte again narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Wurmser, who had been compelled to throw himself into Mantua, having suddenly debouched on an open plain, learned from an old woman, that, not many minutes before, the French General, with only a few followers, had stopped at her door, and fled at the sight of the Austrians. Wurmser immediately despatched parties of cavalry in all directions, to whom he gave orders, that if they came up with Napoleon, he should not be killed or harmed; fortunately, however, for the young General, destiny and the swiftness of his horse saved him.

Another anecdote is related of Bonaparte, when upon the point of commencing one of his great battles in Italy. As he was disposing his troops in order for attack, a light dragoon issuing from the ranks, requested of the General a few minutes' private conversation, with which Napoleon

acquiesced, when the soldier thus addressed him:—"General, if you proceed to adopt such and such measures, the enemy must be defeated."

"Wretched man!" exclaimed Bonaparte, "hold your tongue; you will not, sure, betray my secret!" at the same time placing his hand before the mouth of the dragoon.

The simple fact is, that the soldier in question was possessed of an inherent military capacity, and appreciated every arrangement necessary to insure victory. The battle terminating in favour of Napoleon, he issued orders that the poor fellow should be conducted to his presence; but all search after him proved fruitless, he was nowhere to be found: a bullet had no doubt terminated his military career.

After the affair of Borghetto, Beaulieu lost no time in passing the Adige, not to quit Italy, but approach Mantua: this General, however, having been uniformly unfortunate, was succeeded by old Marshal Wurmser, who, in fact, had not flourished under much happier auspices. On the 4th of June, Massena, who had left Peschiera, was master of the suburbs and tower of Cheriale, after driving the enemy into Mantua. A drummer, twelve years of age, distinguished himself, by climbing up that turret, in the midst of discharges of musketry and grape-shot, and opening the door to the French. On the same day, Bonaparte, who had advanced to La Favorite, a pleasure-house belonging to the Dukes of Mantua, caused the suburb of St. George to be attacked by General Serrurier, who seized the *tête-du-pont*. The grenadiers, under the intrepid Lasnes, would have passed over the narrow causeway separating that part from the town, notwithstanding the batteries of the ramparts were bristled with cannon. "There were more of them at Lodi!" cried they. Mantua, however, was not to be taken by a *coup de main;* wherefore, content with the success of the day, and not willing to shed the blood of brave men, Bonaparte ordered the retreat to be sounded, and, having

no besieging artillery, the blockade of the city was consigned to Generals Serrurier and Vaubois.*

Bonaparte then felt disposed to employ the relaxation afforded him by the Austrians, in putting a stop to the insurrections that had been gathering in his rear. The secondary powers at this period felt disposed to follow the example of the King of Sardinia, as Naples treated on the 7th of June; when an armistice deprived the Austrian army of two thousand five hundred cavalry, and the English fleet of five ships of the line and several frigates. This document was signed by Prince Pignatelli Belmont, on the part of the King of Naples. At the same time, a bull, issued by the Pope, disavowed the fanatics, who, under pretext of religion, fomented a civil war in France; in fact, the Holy See entered into negociations with the *excommunicated;* notwithstanding which, Bonaparte pursued the course of his operations against Rome. While he took possession of Ferrara, Augereau occupied Bologna, and Adjutant-General Vignolle seized the castle of Urbino. The Popish garrisons in all those places surrendered at the first summons, but not for want of the means of defence; and, as Augereau took possession of the Legations, General Vaubois entered Reggio, and clearing the Appenine, seemed to be marching to Rome, across Tuscany.

The Grand Duke being alarmed, requested the French General to respect a neutral territory; when Bonaparte promised not to enter Florence, but pass through Sienna. On the 26th, Vaubois was at Pistoia, and Rome became alarmed, as the blood of a French ambassador was still reeking in that capital. Proclamations, demanding vengeance for the death of M. Basseville, and the reconstruc-

* Mantua is situated on an island, nearly six leagues square, called the Seraglio, which is formed by three lakes communicating with the Mincio. The island is connected with the main land by five causeways, the principal being defended by a citadel, called La Favorita, owing to its vicinity to the ducal palace. The situation of Mantua is low, and the walls surrounded by water, which, from the heat of the climate, renders the air unhealthy.

tion of the Capitol, still resounded in the Vatican. The thunders of the church had not been sufficiently effective to defend the holy city against the Catholic army under the Constable de Bourbon; and she did not then seem more powerful against an army a little less orthodox; in short, Rome submitted to very hard conditions. Besides the Legations, she ceded Ancona to the French, and agreed to shut her ports against the coalesced powers, giving the commissaries appointed by the Directory, the right of choosing a hundred specimens of painting and sculpture in its libraries and museums. This was the first time Rome had been made tributary to France; added to which, she was fated to pay twenty millions in money and other articles. Notwithstanding the advantages of the treaty were all in favour of France, the approbation of that government was with difficulty obtained. The reduction of Rome was not the only object Vaubois had been charged to accomplish. On the 28th of June, he took possession of Leghorn; but the English Factory, against which that stroke was directed, had sufficient address to remove most of their effects to Elba.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, so far from manifesting any resentment in consequence of this measure, soon after invited Bonaparte to Florence, where he partook of a splendid entertainment, during which an officer delivered him despatches, announcing the surrender of the fortress of Milan. The two principal guests, though very differently interested in that affair, possessed a sufficient degree of self-command to prevent the one from expressing his joy, and enable the other to conceal his mortification.

The example displayed at Pavia had not quenched the spirit of insurrection, which broke out in the imperial fiefs near Genoa; but by the burning of a few villages, and the firmness of the measures adopted, it was everywhere suppressed, with the exception of Lugo, with very little bloodshed.

At the period in question, Faypoult, French minister at Genoa, having written to solicit Bonaparte would put an end to the perfidy of the Senate, the latter sent for answer,

that the time was not arrived. "A battle," he said, "was in agitation; as conqueror, that will put me in possession of Mantua, when a simple courier despatched to Genoa, will supply the place of an army."

The revolution which followed at the above city, seemed to arise from the course of events, and did not require the intervention of the French army. Some disorders, however, ensued, and to repress them, Bonaparte signified his pleasure by one of his aides-de-camp, Lavalette, whose sagacity was equal to his courage; but the Doge of Genoa was not less unmanageable with him, than had been the Doge of Venice with Junot.*

* The history of Venice has been often written, but, until the French armies, under Napoleon, conquered and annihilated it as an independent power, no history could be more imperfect. The whole of the archives of that celebrated republic fell into the hands of the French, who sent them to Paris; and it was on consulting those authentic documents, that Count Daru found the materials for his important work on the subject. The mysterious policy of the Council of Ten, and the still more mysterious system of the state inquisition, were then, for the first time, brought before the public eye in all their horrors. No one can doubt the truth of the details, as the members of the council are their own historians.

The original manuscript bears date, June 23, 1454, and is thus headed:—"We, the state inquisitors, having to establish our statutes, for us and our successors, decree: That all the regulations and orders of the tribunal shall be written by one of us. No secretary shall be employed, except for copying mandates, to be executed without initiating him into the secrets of the council. The tribunal shall have the greatest number possible of chosen observers (spies), as well amongst the nobility, as the people and monks. They may be promised rank and honours, and exemption from paying taxes; and, if they are in debt, or accused of any criminal offence, they may be given a *safe conduct*, but for eight months only; and to be renewed, if their information continues to merit it.—Four of those spies shall be constantly attached, without its being known to each other, to the hotel of every foreign ambassador resident in this city, to render an account of all that passes, and of those who come and go.—If they cannot succeed in penetrating the ambassador's secrets, orders must be given to some Venetian exile to endeavour to obtain an asylum in his palace; and measures shall be taken that he shall not be troubled, but, on the contrary, rewarded according to his services—The secretaries of the respective embassies must be gained, if possible, in offering them one hundred crowns per month; simply for revealing the communications a noble Venetian may have with the minister. Such overtures must be made by *a monk* or *a Jew*: those fellows sneak in everywhere.—Whensoever the senate nominates an ambassador to a foreign court, the tribunal will send for and order him to dive into the secrets of the prince, and find out the reports of his ambassador at Venice, and make those communications to the tribunal, without mentioning the same in his despatches to government.—Independent of such precaution, similar instructions will be given to his secretaries, equally di-

A new constitution restored tranquillity to Genoa, as the integrity of the territory of the republic was not only preserved, but increased by the incorporation of the imperial fiefs in its vicinity. The new system of government was not very favourable to the old reigning families; but, on that very account, the more agreeable to the multitude. In lieu of the ancient Senate, Bonaparte recommended a Legislative Corps, formed of two councils, while the executive power was confided to a Directory. The Genoese government was, in fact, a miniature of that of France, and an alliance was formed between them.

During the popular agitation which preceded this new establishment, the statues of Andre Doria had been thrown down. The indignation felt by Napoleon at this act of ingratitude and barbarity, led him to ask, "Whether any excess of zeal should prompt people to forget their national glory? What barbarous hand could strike the mementoes of that Andre Doria, the founder of your liberty; that hero of patriotism, who had refused the sovereignty offered him by the Emperor of Germany? Never vest in the enemies of liberty a right to calumniate you; but know that true republicans honour merit and virtue, wherever they may flourish."

Beaulieu, finding himself incompetent to withstand a

rected to acquaint the tribunal, if their master demands or accepts any thing for himself or friends.—*When the tribunal shall have judged the death of any one necessary, the execution shall never be public. He shall be secretly drowned, at night, in the Canal Orfano.*—Every two months the letter-box for Rome shall be brought, and the letters opened, to see what the papists are doing.—The governors of Cyprus and Candia are authorised, secretly, to take away the life of any person whom they may think dangerous.—If a noble Venetian reveals to the tribunal that proposals have been made him from an ambassador, he shall be authorised to carry on the correspondence; and, when the fact is ascertained, the intermediate agent shall be secretly drowned, provided it be neither the ambassador himself, or his secretary of legation, but a person whom one may feign not to know.—If, for any offence whatsoever, a patrician seeks an asylum in the palace of a foreign minister, care must be taken to kill him there without delay.—An exile cannot be recalled, except he reveals some secrets, procures the arrest of, or kills another criminal; but he can only be pardoned entirely, when the person he kills is more important than himself."

These quotations will suffice to show the merits and demerits of that weak and wicked government, the virtues of which were stained by considerations of the most sordid interest. The annihilation of the aristocratic republic of Venice reflected immortal honour on the name of Napoleon.

General "whose mistress was glory, and whose companion was Plutarch," while traversing the Tyrol with the wrecks of his army, forwarded the following letter to the Aulic Council, which fully displays the irritated feelings of that veteran commander, at the period in question.

"I asked you for a *General*, and you have sent me Argenteau. I am fully aware that he is a great lord, and will be created a field-marshal, as an atonement for my having placed him under arrest. I hereby make known to you, that I have only twenty thousand men remaining, while the enemy's forces exceed sixty thousand. I further apprise you, that it is my intention to retreat to-morrow—the next day—the day following—nay, every day—even to Siberia, should they pursue me so far. My age accords me liberty to be thus explicit. Hasten to ratify peace, be the conditions what they may."—*Moniteur*, 1796, *No.* 269.

General Wurmser, older than Beaulieu, but not less obstinate, was charged with restoring the fortunes of Austria beyond the Alps. With sixty thousand men under his command, he flattered himself he should be able to envelope the enemy, who had not more than forty-four thousand men. He crossed the Adige towards the end of July, and having carried the posts of Salo and Corona, which cover the city of Mantua, the French were obliged to raise the siege, and evacuate their posts with some loss. Bonaparte seeing himself in danger of being surrounded, suddenly withdrew his troops from Verona, and by a forced march regained possession of Brescia. In one of those affairs, Captain Lasalle, being made prisoner, and taken before Wurmser, the old General asked him what might be the age of Bonaparte. "He is," said that officer, "of the same age as Scipio, when he conquered Hannibal."

These partial advantages, however, did not alarm Bonaparte; as Wurmser's march had scarcely commenced, ere Napoleon formed the plan, to which he not only owed his safety, but those series of successes ultimately crowned by the victory of Castiglione. His principal officers could not bear the idea of leaving the besieging artillery behind them

at Mantua: when, full of confidence, while every other individual was in despair, he calmly remarked to Berthier, "we shall retake all that is *here*, and all that is *there*," pointing to the artillery on the ramparts.

The Austrians being thus masters of the heights and left bank of the Adige, the French could no longer retain possession of Verona, without exposing their forces to the hazard of being surrounded. Bonaparte therefore ordered his troops to fall back, and assembled his army at Roverbella. But while thus retrograding, parties of hulans had spread on the French rear, and pushed forward on the road to Milan; in which critical situation, Napoleon felt the necessity of adopting some bold and decisive measure. The Austrians, in descending from the Tyrol by way of Brescia and the Adige, had placed the French in the centre; but it was equally possible, by a rapid retrograde movement, to surround the Austrian division approaching Brescia; and it was also necessary to recross the Mincio without delay.

At this juncture the left of the French army, under Joubert and Massena, had been beaten, and the two generals obliged to retreat under the walls of Peschiera. Napoleon, thus pressed in all directions, saw his communications with France nearly cut off; added to which, he was placed between two armies, each more numerous than his own, while Brescia, his principal magazine, was taken. Milan, fifteen leagues in rear of the enemy, was of no utility: the division of Serrurier, engaged in the siege of Mantua, and that of Augereau appointed to support him, were threatened by Wurmser and the garrison of Mantua. Thus circumstanced, the soldiers were astonished; when assembled in the presence of their chief, to find no alteration in his countenance. "On what does he found his hopes?" said they. "Unless he be more than man, how can he possibly save us?"

"Fear nothing," exclaimed Napoleon; "shew that you remain unchanged: preserve your valour, your just

pride, and the remembrance of your triumphs, and in three days we shall retake all that has been lost. *Rely on me; you know whether or not I am in the habit of keeping my word.*"

The enthusiasm of the army being equal to its astonishment, Napoleon immediately availed himself of circumstances, and conceived one of those plans which alone would be sufficient to constitute him one of the greatest of generals. He totally abandoned the line of the Adige, gave Augereau orders to march on Brescia, and informed his soldiers, "that if they wished to obtain the victory, it was by means of their legs alone it could be gained." The rapidity with which they advanced was astonishing; so that Wurmser had scarcely reached Mantua, when the whole French army, which the evening before had been divided, turned, and in imminent danger, formed a junction at Brescia, which was retaken. Napoleon then gave a little repose to his troops, strengthened himself as much as possible, opened a communication with Serrurier, and prescribed the movements requisite for him to adopt He ordered his brother Louis to take possession of the bridge of St. Mark with two battalions, and, on his return, despatched him in the greatest haste to Paris, with an account of what had taken place. "Every thing is now made good," said he. "To-morrow I shall give battle; the success will be complete, as the most difficult part of the task is over. I have no time to write long despatches: describe all that you have seen."

Louis accordingly left Brescia before the battle; and, a few hours after his arrival at Paris, a courier brought the details of the great victory gained by his brother at Castiglione; when, as a mark of its satisfaction, the Directory conferred the rank of captain upon Louis. It is necessary to remark that, in that memorable conflict, Napoleon contrived to turn all the successes gained by Wurmser, to the advantage of the French army.

But to return to the ulterior operations. General

D'Allemagne was charged to attack Lonado, where the Austrians had established themselves; they marched out to meet the French, but were defeated, leaving six hundred prisoners, and the ground covered with dead. Dupuis' brigade distinguished itself so much on this occasion, as to obtain leave of the General-in-chief to inscribe on their colours: "*J'etais tranquille, la trenté-deuxième était là.*"

Wurmser having re-entered Mantua, under the idea that his right wing had obliged the French to retire, was much surprised to find that his troops had been beaten at Lonado and at Brescia. To succour them, he advanced on the 2d of August towards Castiglione. General Valette, posted there with fifteen hundred men, had orders to resist, but notwithstanding, retired with the loss of a number of his men. "What have you done with your comrades?" said Bonaparte to the soldiers that returned. "We," said they, "did not command—we obeyed." Valette was suspended, but continued to serve as a private grenadier, till he was reinstated in his rank.

The battle of Lonado occurred on the 3d of August: at day-break, the whole of the French army were in motion. Augereau moved with the right wing towards Castiglione: General Guieux with the left, retook Salo, and thus held Wurmser's right in check. Massena, who was in the centre at Calcinato, marched towards Lonado. General Pigeon, who commanded the French advanced guard, had been made prisoner, with three pieces of cannon. At the moment when the Austrians were extending their line, Bonaparte sent forward in close columns the 18th and 32d demi-brigades, which being supported by a strong reserve, broke the enemy's line of battle. The artillery and the prisoners made under General Pigeon, were retaken, and the French entered Lonado. Junot, Bonaparte's first aide-de-camp, was sent in pursuit of the fugitive

Austrians, at the head of a company of guides. Coming up with the hulans of Bender, he had already wounded their colonel, when, attacked on all sides, he was thrown into a ditch covered with wounds, but not till he had killed six of the enemy with his own hands. Still, apparently with the voice of a dying man, he continued to exclaim, "You are all my prisoners." From this situation he was relieved by his dragoons, and conveyed to the head-quarters. The Austrian division that had been beaten, took the route to Salo; but Salo being in possession of the French, they wandered among the mountains, and mostly fell into the hands of the victors.

Augereau, however, had seized upon Castiglione, and maintained himself there against a force double in number. On this day the Austrians lost twenty pieces of cannon, three or four thousand men killed and wounded, and four thousand prisoners, and among these three generals. The French had to lament the death of General Bayran, whose probity was equal to his courage.

But though separated and beaten, the Austrian army was not annihilated. Presuming that the General would strain every effort to regain the corps he had sent to Brescia, Bonaparte thought that if he could dispose of them, he might turn his whole force against Wurmser. General Despinoy was charged with this operation; he succeeded, and made eighteen hundred prisoners.

Wurmser, who was still able to collect 25,000 men, and a numerous cavalry, indulged the hope of retrieving his fortunes. Bonaparte on his side was making arrangements for a general engagement, and for that purpose repaired to Lonado, to see what troops he could collect there. He had scarcely entered, when an Austrian flag of truce arrived to summon the commandant to surrender. The place was in fact surrounded by forces much superior to those within it. This was an embarrassing situation for Bonaparte; however, by a stroke of

genius he disengaged himself with *eclat*. Ordering the officer who brought the flag of truce to be brought before him, and to have the bandage taken from his eyes: "Your General-in-chief," said he, "has the presumption to summon the General-in-chief of the army of Italy! Let him advance. If he presume to insult the French army, I am here to avenge it. Tell him that he and his corps are my prisoners; that one of his own columns is cut off at Salo, and another by the passage of Brescia to Trente, and that if in eight minutes he does not lay down his arms, he shall be shot with his whole corps. Undeceive your commander, and let him see General Bonaparte at the head of his brave republican army; tell your General that will be the highest reward he can expect."

While every one was preparing for the attack, the commander of the enemy's army requested a capitulation. "No," replied Bonaparte; "You are a prisoner of war." The commandant wished to expostulate, but already the light artillery were advancing, and he cried out, "We yield." Thus 1200 French gained a victory over 4000 of the enemy's well arranged force, and defended also by four pieces of cannon.

This strange adventure, soon known to the whole army, did not contribute a little to inflame the courage of the troops. At five in the morning of the 5th of August, the two armies were in presence of each other. Bonaparte, by a retrograde motion, having drawn Wurmser after him, Serrurier's division turned and attacked his left. The right being attacked by Massena, and the centre by Augereau, the French were soon victorious upon every point. This battle terminated what has been called "The Campaign of Five Days," during which Wurmser lost seventy pieces of cannon, and more than twenty thousand men.

Victory having thus declared for the French, after the most obstinate resistance on the part of the enemy,

Wurmser, evacuating Roveredo and Trent, took refuge in Mantua, and the siege of that city was renewed.

The satisfaction which the conqueror derived from his successes, was however interrupted for a short period by the jealousy with which some of his enemies had inspired the Directory at Paris, and by vain endeavours to raise up a formidable enemy against him in the person of General Hoche, who repulsed the attempt in a spirited and energetic letter.

Bonaparte having recovered all his former positions, began to turn his whole attention upon Mantua, and had some thoughts of entering the place by night. Some grenadiers were to embark upon the lake, and seize upon one of the gates, whilst the attention of the besieged was to have been excited by a false attack elsewhere. But as the water suddenly sunk more than three feet, this project fell to the ground. Bonaparte confided the blockade to General Sahuguet, observing that "operations of this kind depend entirely upon good fortune; upon a dog or a goose."

The affair of Seravalla, and the attack upon the camp at Mori, occurred soon after. Murat, Leclerc, and Dubois, signalized themselves by a feat of arms apparently belonging to romance: the two former falling in with a column of the enemy during the night, and with only twelve carabiniers and three chasseurs, they took prisoners 100 hussars and 400 foot of the regiment of Wurmser. General Dubois, whilst executing a charge of an important nature at Serravalla, was struck by three balls at the head of his victorious squadron. "I die," said he, "for the republic," pressing the hand of the General-in-chief. "I only wish to know that our victory is complete." He had but a moment to live, and his desire was gratified.

Bonaparte took possession of Trent in the name of France, and seized all the property that belonged to the

Emperor and the Prince Bishop. The route to the Tyrol had been opened to the French by the battle of Roveredo. But though Wurmser was not in sufficient force to oppose this movement, he had the address to detain the conquerors in Italy, probably with the view of preventing them from extending the war to the Danube. He also contrived to occupy them, in order that Field-Marshal Alvinzi might arrive with a third army, which the French were to devour.

The old General, notwithstanding the sagacity of his plan, committed more than one fault in its execution. The French, after beating the Austrians in the gorges of the Brenta, at Primolano, at Solagna, and carrying the fort of Covelo, on the 8th of September marched towards Bassano, where Wurmser had his head-quarters. Whilst Augereau penetrated the town on his left, Massena entered it on his right, and seized the cannon that defended the bridge on the Brenta, and overthrew the old grenadiers who attempted to cover the retreat of their general. Five thousand prisoners, five standards, thirty-five pieces of cannon, with their caissons, fell into the hands of the French, and Wurmser himself narrowly escaped being taken with the military chest. Lannes seized one of the enemy's standards with his own hands. Bonaparte demanded for him the rank of General of Brigade. "He was," he said, "the first who put the enemy to the route at Dego, who passed the Po at Plaisance, the Adda at Lodi, and the first that entered Bassano."

The number of the dead near Bassano was considerable. Curious to ascertain the loss of the enemy, Bonaparte in the evening rode over the field with his staff, when their notice was attracted by the howlings of a dog, that seemed to increase in proportion as they approached the spot whence they proceeded. "In the deep silence of a beautiful moon-light night," said the Emperor, "a dog leaping suddenly from beneath the

clothes of his dead master, rushed upon us, and then immediately returned to his hiding-place, howling piteously. He alternately licked his master's hand, and ran towards us, as if at once soliciting aid and seeking revenge. Whether, owing to my own particular turn of mind at that moment, the time, the place, or the action itself, I know not, but certainly no incident on any field of battle ever produced so deep an impression on me. I involuntarily stopped to contemplate the scene. This man, thought I, has friends in the camp, or in his company, and here he lies forsaken by all except his dog. What a lesson Nature presents here, through the medium of an animal! What a strange being is man! and how mysterious are his impressions! I had without emotion ordered battles which were to decide the fate of the army: I had beheld with tearless eyes the execution of those operations by which numbers of my countrymen were sacrificed; and here my feelings were roused by the mournful howlings of a dog! Certainly at that moment I should have been easily moved by a suppliant enemy. I could very well imagine Achilles surrendering up the body of Hector at the sight of Priam's tears."

CHAP. VI.

Victories of the French—Capture of Legnano—Sorties *from Mantua—Dreadful Situation of that City—War between the Population of Italy and the Austrians—Letter of Bonaparte to the Cispadane Republic—Excesses at Bologna and Genoa—Anniversary of the French Republic celebrated at Milan—Bonaparte's Letter to the Emperor of Germany—Battle of Arcole—Anecdotes—The Sleeping Sentinel—Death of Colonel Muiron.*

In the course of six days the French army had gained six victories. Out of the sixty thousand men with which Wurmser was to reconquer Italy, only ten thousand remained after the battle of Bassano; these he sent to Verona, which they were prevented from entering by General Kilmaine. Augereau, on his way to Padua, seized the baggage of the Austrian army, and made four hundred prisoners. Wurmser had no resource but to throw himself into Mantua, which he reached about the middle of September. On his march he made three hundred French prisoners, who were surrounded by the Austrian cuirassiers; a loss more than compensated by the taking of Porto Legnano, and a greater number of prisoners. Massena and General Sahuguet having been checked in an attempt upon Due Castelli, and La Favorite, Wurmser made a *sortie* from Mantua with almost the whole of the garrison, to go upon a foraging party with the rest of the troops cantoned about the place, and in the fauxbourg of St. George. This brought on another affair, in which Wurmser lost two thousand five hundred men, two thousand prisoners, and twenty-two pieces of cannon. The loss of the French was inconsiderable;

but among the wounded were Generals Victor, Sainte Hilaire, Bertin, Murat, Lannes, and General Mayer, who received a shot in the act of saving a French soldier from the sabre of an Austrian cuirassier.

Wearied of opposing *sorties*, Bonaparte confined himself to a strict blockade of Mantua; besides, the rainy weather would not admit of a regular siege for some months.

By the end of September there were not more than sixteen thousand men in Mantua able to bear arms. The public establishments were not capable of receiving the sick; but being distributed in the private houses, the whole city might be considered as one vast hospital. On the 23d the bridge of Governolo was attacked by the Imperialists; this bridge, commanding the Mincio, had been fortified by Bonaparte. After a brisk cannonade, the Imperialists were routed by the republican infantry, who took eleven hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. Perceiving that Wurmser avoided a general action, Bonaparte returned to Milan, leaving General Kilmaine to conduct the blockade. On the 1st of October the French attacked the Austrians in their advanced posts of Cereze and Pradella. A detachment of their cavalry were surrounded and taken; another that had passed the river at Borgo Forte, not being able to regain Mantua, endeavoured to take refuge in Tuscany; but at Reggio they were attacked by the inhabitants and the national guard. Pressed on all sides, these fugitives took shelter in the territory of Parma, and shut themselves up in the castle of Monte Chiarugolo; but the inhabitants of Reggio investing this place, the Austrians capitulated. Two soldiers of the national guard were killed; but from this moment the war between the population of Italy and the Imperialists had commenced.

On the night of the 18th, the Austrians endeavoured to scale the intrenchments of St. George's, but being unsuc-

cessful, all their attempts terminated here. Discouraged by successive defeats, weakened by contagious disorders, and condemned to privations of every kind, the garrison now seemed only to await its deliverance by the enemy.

About this time the General Administration of Lombardy, in consequence of numerous petitions, solicited permission from General Bonaparte to form a legion to act with the republican army, and to march against the common enemy; this was granted, and in process of time, the force thus raised formed an auxiliary corps of nine thousand men under General Rusca.

The inhabitants of Modena, abandoned by their duke, proclaimed their independence. This was first done at Reggio, an example which was soon followed at Ferrara and Bologna. Soon after this, under the auspices of Bonaparte, the union of Modena, Reggio, Bologna, and Ferrara, was declared at a general Congress. A second Congress held at Reggio, ulteriorly proclaimed the definitive reunion of the duchies and legations, under the name of the Cispadane Republic. This resolution being announced to Bonaparte, he answered by the following letter:

"I have learned with the liveliest interest, that the Cispadane Republics are reunited in one, and that taking for their symbol a bundle of rods, are already convinced that their strength consists in unity and indivisibility. Unhappy Italy has been for a long time effaced from the map of the powers of Europe. If the Italians of our day are worthy to recover their rights, and to give themselves a free government, they will see their country figuring among the other powers. Never, however, forget, that laws, without force to support them, are null. A military organization should be your first object. Nature has given you all you want. Your deliberations are marked by prudence and concord. Nothing is wanting but those battalions animated with an holy enthusiasm for their country. You are in a situation much more favourable

than the French people. You may arrive at liberty without any revolutionary shocks. The calamities which afflicted France before the establishment of its constitution, will be unknown to you. The unity which connects the divers parties of the Cispadane Republic, should be the model constantly followed for uniting every class of citizens."

The French Republic dated the possession of the north of Italy from this period of the union of the Cispadane and Transpadane Republics.

Great excesses took place at Bologna on the day when the tree of liberty was planted; the populace crowded to the houses of the rich, and persons of easy circumstances, to collect money, &c. as they pretended, to purchase wine, for the purpose of rejoicing. Bonaparte, however, arrived and put an end to this disorder, by issuing a proclamation. All the monks not belonging to the convents in Bologna, were ordered to quit the city in three days; but they were provided with money sufficient to bear their charges to Rome.

Genoa next drew the attention of Bonaparte. The population of this city was favourable to the French, but the Senate had never ceased to lend all possible assistance to Beaulieu and other Austrian generals. Whilst Bonaparte was not strong enough to chastise this treachery, he appeared to be ignorant of it. He now wrote to the Genoese government with the dignity and spirit always belonging to his character. "The city of Genoa," said he, " is the focus from whence those wretches proceed who infest the highways, assassinate the French, and intercept our convoys. The spirit of rebellion in the Imperial fiefs was fomented at Genoa. M. Girola, residing in that city, has sent them ammunition. He receives every day the chiefs of this rebellion stained with French blood. A part of these horrors have been committed upon the Genoese territory, and the

government, so far from taking any measures of prevention, appear to connive at these assassins by its silence, and the asylum it affords them. It is indispensible that a period should be put to this abuse, and that the men who protect brigands should be very severely punished. The governor of Novi protects them: I demand that the Genoese government shall make an example of him. M. Girola, who had made Genoa a place of arms against the French, should be arrested, or at least sent away from Genoa. These preliminary measures of satisfaction are due to the manes of my brothers in arms, murdered upon your territory. For the future, I demand a categorical explanation. Can you, or can you not, purge the territory of the republic of the assassins with which it abounds? If you do not take measures for this end, I shall, I will burn both villages and towns upon any territory where one single Frenchman has been assassinated. I will burn the houses that afford refuge to assassins. I will punish those negligent magistrates who violate the first principle of neutrality, in granting an asylum to the brigands. The assassination of one single Frenchman shall bring destruction upon whole communities who shall not have protected the French."

In consequence of these threats, Count Girola was sent away from Genoa; but instead of leaving Italy, this minister took refuge in the Imperial fiefs. The focus of intrigue, it seems, had only been removed. The castle of Santa Margarita is situated upon an eminence in the valley of Scrivia. This castle, the Austrian agent made the centre of his operations, in concert with M. Drake, an Englishman: here they organized desertion among the prisoners of war, and with the emigrants prepared the means of exciting new troubles in Lombardy.

As nothing escaped the penetration of Bonaparte, he soon discovered this den: a detachment was ordered against it; however, three hundred of the banditti,

with the English and German diplomatists, had time to escape.

In perfidy, the senate of Venice did not yield to that of Genoa. Protected by them, the communications between the Adige and the Adda were interrupted by robbers, who generally took refuge in the castle of Bergame.

Barraguey d'Hilliers, nevertheless, attacked the fort, which was taken, notwithstanding the opposition of the Venetians; the banditti were put to the sword, and on the 25th of December Bergame received a French garrison.

The Montferrat country was infested with the same species of robbery and assassination, till a column under General Garnier was sent after these Barbets. The French, scaling the mountains like these robbers, pursued them from rock to rock; but in a combat near Roccabigliera, they were completely subdued, General Garnier killing two of their chiefs with his own hand.

Bonaparte soon after celebrated at Milan the anniversary of the foundation of the French republic. Taking those games and ceremonies that were used at Athens and Rome for models, this *fête* was extremely magnificent. Josephine, the spouse of General Bonaparte, assisted, and by her graces, attempered the austerity of the military *cortege* which encircled her spouse. In fact, Bonaparte was already a sovereign, and had a court, and he exercised that authority over all with whom he was connected, which seemed only to belong to superior minds.

It was at this time he wrote to the Emperor of Germany, to propose peace. Had he then been actually on the throne, he could not perhaps have dictated a more lofty letter than that which he addressed to this monarch from his tent.

"Sire, Europe wishes for peace. This disastrous war has lasted too long. I have the honour to inform your

majesty, that if you do not send plenipotentiaries to Paris to open negotiations for peace, the Executive Directory have ordered me to shut up the port of Trieste, and to ruin all your majesty's establishments upon the Adriatic. Hitherto, I have desisted from the execution of this plan, in hopes of not increasing the number of the innocent victims of this war. I earnestly desire that your majesty may be sensible of the misfortunes that threaten your subjects, and that you will restore peace and tranquillity to the world.

"BONAPARTE."

Vain observations! This advice had no effect upon a ministry that thought less of their losses than their resources, and who produced and reproduced armies almost as fast as Bonaparte could destroy them. Whilst he was speaking of peace to Austria, that court was preparing for war. Impatient of raising the blockade of Mantua, Austria was for the third time forming legions in the Tyrol, that were to be consumed in Italy. Bonaparte in the mean time, not having received the reinforcements that had been promised him, fortified the banks of the Adige and the Adda, and put Ferrara, Bologna, Peschiera, and Pizzighitone in a state of defence. A month before hostilities had recommenced, he wrote as follows: "Under the uncertainty of not knowing what kind of war I shall have to make, I am doing every thing in my power at present to facilitate future operations."

The command of the new Austrian army had been conferred on Field-Marshal Alvinzi; this consisted of 45,000 men, which, with those that could be drawn from Mantua, might amount to 60,000. To these Bonaparte could oppose only 30,000: 8300 formed the blockade of Mantua. Augereau had 8000 men upon the Adige. Massena was posted between Bassano and Trevisa with 9000; Vaubois, with 10,000, guarded the defiles of the

Tyrol; and Menard, with 2000 men as a reserve, occupied the town of Brescia, with 1800 cavalry in the vicinity. Alvinzi, in the hope of surrounding Bonaparte, followed a system directly opposite to that of Wurmser, by extending his line of operations in a very different manner. Alvinzi's corps, on the 4th of November, having passed the Tagliamento and the Piave, advanced towards Bassano; Massena fell back upon Vicenza; Vaubois began to act upon the offensive on the same day. General Gieux, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, seized upon St. Michel, and burnt the bridges newly thrown over the Adige; but General Fiorella was not so fortunate at Segonzano; his loss was considerable. Vaubois succeeded in closing the gorges of the Brenta against Davidovich. The combinations of Bonaparte were not disarranged; he resolved to attack Alvinzi, and marched on the 6th of November with Augereau's division, and joined that of Massena at Vicenza. On the 8th he proceeded against the enemy, who had passed the Brenta. "We must," said he, "affright him like a thunderbolt, from his first purpose." The engagement was warm; victory declared for the French. The Austrians repassed the Brenta, leaving a great number of dead on the field of battle, with five hundred prisoners and a piece of cannon. General Lanusse, badly wounded, fell into their hands.

Determined to push forwards, Davidovich attacked Vaubois near Calliano, who was obliged to evacuate this village in the night, leaving six pieces of cannon. Upon the reception of this intelligence, Bonaparte hastened to Verona. Alvinzi had taken the same route. On the 11th of November Bonaparte marched to meet the Austrians. Augereau came up with their advanced guard within two leagues of Verona, and routed them. On the 12th the two armies were in presence. Supported on the left by the village of Caldiero, and upon the right by Olivetto,

the positions of the enemy's first line were highly advantageous, and at the instant when it was presumed the intention of the French was to come to a general action, the Austrian corps at Villa Nuova had orders to begin its march. At day-break, Massena attacked the enemy's right, and Augereau on the left made himself master of Caldiero. Augereau made 200 prisoners, and Massena having turned the right of the enemy, had taken five pieces of cannon, when their *corps de reserve* suddenly made its appearance. This circumstance, and a hail-storm, which blew in the faces of the French, obliged Massena to retire with the loss of a thousand men. This would have been more considerable, if the enemy had not been checked in their turn by the seventy-fifth demi-brigade.

The progress of the Austrians had been stopped, but they had not retreated: it was necessary to vanquish them, but of this Bonaparte almost despaired. "The army," said he, in writing to the Directory, "so inferior in numbers, has been again weakened by these late rencontres. The promised reinforcements have not arrived. The heroes of Millesimo, Lodi, Castiglione, and Bassano, are dead or in the hospitals. Joubert, Lanusse, Victor, Lannes, Charlot, Murat, Dupuis, Rampon, Menard, Chabrand, and Pigeon, are wounded. We are abandoned at the extremity of Italy. If I had received the 103d, three thousand five hundred strong, I would have answered for every thing. Perhaps in a few days 40,000 men will not be sufficient for us to make head against the enemy."

But with Bonaparte discouragement was not despair; triumph often awaited him when he seemed to be upon the very brink of ruin. Alvinzi had approached Verona on the 15th of November, and flattered himself that he could carry the place by assault, although General Kilmaine had 1500 men there. Bonaparte, descending the Adige to Ronco,

passed upon this point with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, and took his route to Villa Nuova, with the view of seizing the enemy's baggage and his parks of artillery, whom he meant to attack on the flanks and in the rear. To effect this, it was necessary to traverse Arcole, a village situated in the centre of a large morass, and covered by the Alpon, one of the most rapid torrents. The Austrians foreseeing this movement, had sent forward some Hungarian regiments, who had intrenched themselves in this position, already so strong by nature. They arrested the progress of the French advanced guard during the whole day. It was to no purpose that the generals placed themselves at the head of the columns: in vain Augereau advanced upon the bridge with a standard in his hand: the soldiers would not follow him.

Bonaparte, however, had no idea of passing the night at Arcole, to which place he thought the enemy's army was marching. He retired behind the Adige, having made dispositions to repass it at pleasure. This river the French repassed at day-break on the 16th, when their divisions soon fell in with the advanced guard of the Austrians, moving towards Ronco, whilst their cavalry was hastening to seize upon Albaredo, an important position. Massena attacked and routed their left wing, commanded by General Provera, whom they had combated before in Piedmont. General Robert attacked the centre at the point of the bayonet, and drove the troops into the marshes. Augereau repulsed the troops that came from Arcole, but could not succeed in forcing that passage. Bonaparte consumed the whole day in fruitless attempts to turn the left of the enemy, which was protected by the marshes and the torrent. At night both armies retired to the positions they had occupied before the battle.

On the 17th, at break of day, Bonaparte had thrown a bridge over a point near the confluence of the Alpon and

Passage of the Bridge of Arcole

the Adige, which the enemy had neglected to secure. The Austrians were driven to Arcole.

At ten o'clock on the 17th the action became general. The centre, commanded by General Robert, retreated before the fresh troops which had debouched over the terrible bridge, withdrawing from the left wing the forty-second demi-brigade, led by General Gardanne. Bonaparte placed this corps in the woods, and at the moment when the enemy was pursuing the centre, and turning the right of the French army, this demi-brigade took them in flank, and made a horrible carnage. Favoured by the localities, and by their superior numbers, the enemy's left wing resisted; but twenty-five horsemen contributed to their defeat. A brave fellow, worthy of the name of Hercules, lieutenant of a corps of guides, having rapidly turned the morass that covered the Austrians, rode up full gallop, and sounding a number of trumpets, threw the Austrian ranks into disorder, when Augereau availed himself of the moment to charge them, whilst 900 men coming from Legnago attacked them in the rear, and completed their route. Massena afterwards traversed Arcole, and pursued the Austrians till the darkness compelled him to desist. The Austrians lost 13,000 men in this battle, including 5000 prisoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon.

The loss of the French was less considerable in numbers than in the importance of those that fell during these three days. The generals, who acted as soldiers, were continually fighting at the head of their columns. The great art of the General-in-chief on this occasion, having but 13,000 men to oppose to 40,000, was to maintain the combat in the midst of a morass, where the enemy could not deploy. Upon such a field of battle only the heads of the columns could engage. In a plain, the French army would doubtless have been surrounded.

On the third day of this battle, November 17, the 75th

having been broken, Bonaparte placed the 32d in an ambuscade, lying on their faces in a little wood of willows along the dyke of Arcole. This demi-brigade rose, fired a volley, charged bayonets, and drove into the marsh 3000 Croats, who all perished there. Massena in the mean while had experienced some vicissitudes on the left; but he marched at the head of his division with his hat suspended on his sword, by way of standard, and made a horrible carnage of the enemy.

When Napoleon arrived at Villa Nuova he stopped to enter the convent of St. Boniface, the church of which had served as an hospital: here were 4 or 500 wounded men, and most of them dead; the stench of putrefaction was dreadful; he drew back, but heard himself called by name; two French soldiers, wounded, had been left there three days without food or assistance; they were partly recalled to life by the sight of their General, and immediately liberated from their loathsome but unfortunate companions.

Several anecdotes are related, of the danger to which Bonaparte was personally exposed during the three days' fighting at this place. Las Cases, mentioning the bridge at Arcole, says, "Here Napoleon in person tried a last effort: he seized a standard, rushed towards the bridge, and fixed it there. The column he led had half cleared the bridge when the flank fire caused their attack to fail. The grenadiers of the head of the column, abandoned by the rear, hesitate and are induced to retire; but they will not abandon their General: they seize him by his arms, his hair, and his clothes, and drag him along with them in their flight, amidst the dead, the dying, the fire and smoke. The General-in-chief is thrown into a marsh, where he sinks up to the middle: *he is in the midst of the enemy;* but the French perceive that their General is not amongst them. A cry is heard of "Soldiers! forward to rescue the General!" These brave men instantly turn,

and rush upon the enemy; they drive them *beyond the bridge*, and Napoleon is saved."

Another account states, that Napoleon, urged by his own natural impatience, arrived at the foot of the bridge of Arcole with all his staff, at the head of General Augereau's division, which he formed, bearing a standard in one hand, and doing his utmost to excite his troops, but without effect, till he recalled to their minds the passage of the bridge of Lodi. Then their enthusiasm beginning to revive, springing from his horse, he seized a flag, and rushed forward among the enemy's troops, exclaiming, "*Follow your General!*" The column, not more than thirty paces from the bridge, was instantly in motion, when the dreadful fire from the enemy's artillery mowing down whole ranks, the Generals Vignole and Lannes were wounded, and Muiron, the gallant friend and aide-de-camp of Bonaparte, killed. The staff of the General-in-chief were also overthrown in such a manner, that Napoleon's horse with his rider, were precipitated into a swamp, and was extricated with great difficulty. However, having succeeded, he remounted, rallied the column, and struck terror into the enemy.

Napoleon acknowledged whilst at St. Helena, "that he considered himself in the greatest danger at Arcole; his horse was shot under him; when rendered furious by the wound, the animal seized the bit between his teeth, and galloped on towards the enemy. In the agonies of death he plunged into a morass, and expired, leaving his rider nearly up to his neck in the swamp, and in a situation from which, as he could not extricate himself, he thought the Austrians would have come and cut off his head, which appeared just above the surface. However, the approach of the French troops in all probability prevented them.

It has been seen, that this conflict lasted three days. In the course of the second, Louis Bonaparte was charged

with important orders from his brother the General-in-chief, to General Robert. There was no other road but a narrow causeway between a marsh and a canal, which opened into the river Adige. This causeway was briskly swept by the fire of the enemy; however, Louis traversed it on horseback. On arriving near the bridge, he found General Robert, with his face and eyes inflamed and his mind in the greatest agitation and alarm, in the midst of the French tiralleurs and those of the enemy, running from tree to tree, to prevent his drooping soldiers from wheeling about.

Louis being the only person on horseback, was marked out by the enemy, notwithstanding which he endeavoured to explain the orders of his brother to General Robert, which he could not be made to understand. This General was mortally wounded an hour afterwards; and Louis, again exposed to the same fire, returned to the General-in-chief, who was then employed near the influx of the Adige. The French grenadiers, who were in a position in the marsh, seeing an aide-de-camp traversing it a second time, exclaimed, "Let us get up also;" but scarcely had the two foremost succeeded in raising themselves about half-way up above the brink of the causeway, when they fell back dead. A drummer wished to make the attempt, but he fell at the feet of Louis, pierced by several balls. On regaining his brother, Napoleon expressed a feeling of surprise and joy: "I believed you dead," said he: "one of the grenadiers actually announced to me that you had been killed."

After these three hard-fought days of Arcole, Bonaparte surprised "the sleeping sentinel." Napoleon, who offered up his own repose as a sacrifice for the more imperious calls of promptitude and glory, proceeded, alone, to visit the outskirts of the camp, and in this survey arrived at the spot where lay extended the sleeping sentinel, who could hardly be deemed guilty of a breach of

duty, but the unwilling victim of extreme fatigue, that totally overpowered him. Bonaparte, unmindful of his dignity, and actuated only by noble motives, took up the soldier's musket, which laid beside him; when, placing it upon his own shoulder, he continued to mount guard for nearly an hour, in order to insure the safety of the camp. The grenadier at length awoke, and sought for his piece in vain, but by the light of the moon, perceived the General, who had thus paid respect to his repose.

"O! I am undone!" vociferated the soldier, recognising Napoleon, whose lineaments are graven upon the heart of every warrior.

"No, my friend," replied the General with extreme affability, at the same time surrendering up his musket, "the battle was obstinate and long enough contested, to excuse your having thus yielded to the impulse of fatigue; one moment of inattention, however, might endanger the safety of the camp: I was awake, and have only to advise, that you would be more upon your guard for the future!"

After this defeat the Austrians retired to Vicenza. In the meanwhile the left wing of the French army had been forced by General Davidovich, who seized on the important post of Rivoli, and advanced to Castello Nuovo, within eight leagues of Mantua; but Bonaparte taking advantage of his late victory, ordered General Massena to repass the Adige and attack Davidovich, who was forced to retire behind the Arisio on the 22d of November, while Alvinzi took refuge on the other side of the Brenta, after losing about six thousand men killed and wounded, eighteen pieces of cannon and four standards.

But while the French had been repelling the Austrians at Arcole, their rear-guard was very roughly handled. General Fiorella and eight hundred men were made prisoners. General Vaubois owed his safety to the tardy movements of the Austrians. At Campana, where his

rear-guard had suffered considerably, two Austrian regiments were afterwards nearly annihilated; eleven hundred were taken prisoners, with four pieces of cannon, and four hundred drowned in endeavouring to swim across the Adige. Augereau, on the other side of the river, dispersed all he met, and took three thousand prisoners. Bonaparte seeing that Davidovich had escaped him, returned to Verona. Afterwards giving orders for entering the Ecclesiastical territory with three thousand men, he went to Bologna in the middle of December, to direct this expedition, when he soon learned that the Austrians were beginning to resume the offensive: he also returned to the path of glory, and repaired to Verona, which he intended as the central point of his operations.

Among the officers who perished in the battle of Arcole, were Muiron, as before related, and Elliot, whose names have been consecrated by Bonaparte to immortality; the former fell on the 15th, the latter on the 16th, and both near the General-in-chief, whom they attended as aides-de-camp. The death of the former was attended with peculiar circumstances: as Bonaparte was advancing, the colonel seeing him exposed to imminent danger, threw himself before him, covered him with his body, and received the wound intended for Napoleon. "He fell," said he, "at my feet, and his blood spouted up in my face." In relating this he remarked, that no soldiers ever showed more devotion than his, even when expiring: with the last drop of blood gushing out of their veins, they exclaimed, "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

In the death of Muiron, France lost an officer of the greatest promise. In writing to the Directory, Bonaparte observed, "Citizen Muiron had served in the artillery from the earliest period of the revolution, and distinguished himself at Toulon, where he was wounded in entering the embrasure of an English redoubt. His father being a farmer-general, was arrested, but young Muiron

presenting himself to the National Convention covered with wounds, obtained the liberation of his parent. On the 13th Vendemaire he defended the Convention, conducted himself as a brave man, and was very useful on that day, in which liberty was preserved. Citizen Muiron has been my aide-de-camp ever since the commencement of the Italian campaign, and has on every occasion rendered essential services, and died gloriously on the field of battle at Arcole, leaving a young widow in the eighth month of her pregnancy. I demand therefore, that the name of Madame Berrault de Courville be erased from the list of emigrants, upon which it has been placed, though she never emigrated."—Bonaparte made the same demand for the brother-in-law of Muiron.

Bonaparte wrote the following letter to his widow:—"Muiron died by my side at the battle of Arcole. You have lost a husband who was dear to you; and I have lost a friend to whom I have been long attached; but the country has lost more than either of us. If I can serve you or his infant in any manner, I hope you will reckon entirely upon me."

Bonaparte never forgot Muiron; he named one of the vessels after him, that went to Egypt. At St. Helena he wished to take the name of Colonel Muiron—another proof of his esteem for his friend. The successor of Muiron as his aide-de-camp, was the honourable but unfortunate Lavalette.

Elliot, who shared the fate of Muiron, was the nephew of Clarke, to whom Bonaparte wrote as follows:—"Your nephew has been killed upon the field of battle at Arcole. This young man had familiarised himself with arms; he had often marched at the head of columns; he would have been an estimable officer. In combating the enemy his death was glorious. He did not suffer an instant. What reasonable man would not envy such a death? Who, amidst the vicissitudes of this life, would not think him-

self happy in this manner to leave a world so frequently contemptible? Who, amongst us, has not an hundred times regretted the want of an opportunity to withdraw from the powerful effects of calumny, envy, and all those hateful passions, which seem almost entirely to direct the conduct of men?"

From the sentiments that dictated this letter, it was easy to perceive the vexation that Bonaparte had felt from the outrages that had been heaped upon him at Paris. The party that he had astonished by his victories, never ceased to libel him as an ambitious character. With them his firmness was nothing but obstinacy; and his successes, which they were compelled to admit, they pretended were less owing to his genius than to the inability of the generals with whom he had to contend; though, previous to these campaigns, these commanders had been reckoned among the first captains in Europe. The Directory, however, in their answer to Captain Lemarrois, who presented the trophies taken at Arcole, bestowed the most honourable eulogiums upon Napoleon, while the Legislative corps assigned to him and Augereau, the standards that had been carried at the head of the columns upon the impregnable bridge of Arcole.

Thus ended one of the most memorable campaigns recorded in history; in the course of which all the resources of modern war were exhibited and displayed on a grand scale, and countries won and abandoned, not as heretofore, after a contest of a few hours, but in consequence of a succession of memorable battles.

CHAP. VII.

Affairs of Legnano—St. Michel—Battle of Rivoli—Anecdote—Massena, the spoiled Child of Victory—Joubert—Address of Louis Bonaparte—A Duel—Battle of La Favorite—General Provera made Prisoner—Surrender of Mantua—A German Spy—Anecdotes—Commotions at Rome—A Procession—Republic of San Marino—Fête and Obelisk in honour of Virgil—The Archduke Charles—Proclamation—Passage of the Piave and the Tagliamento—Anecdote—Arrival of Bernadotte—Battle of Tarvis in the Clouds—Entrance into Clagenfurth, Laubach, Freisach, Judenberg—Preliminaries of the Treaty of Leoben—Overthrow of the Government of Venice—Bonaparte's Return to Paris—Jealousy of the Directory—Anecdotes—Bonaparte at the Institute at Paris—Napoleon at the Opera—Increasing Popularity—Jealousy of the Directory—Journey incog.*—Differences between France and Switzerland—Rome seized, and the Republic re-established—Conduct of Bernadotte at Vienna—Unpopularity of the Directory—Anniversary of the Execution of Louis XVI.*

THE weakness of the army of Italy did not permit Bonaparte to draw all the advantages he promised himself from the victory of Arcole. Sill in proportion as the distresses of Mantua increased, the efforts of the court of Vienna were exerted for its deliverance. New reinforcements arrived by post, consisting of volunteers from the best families in Vienna; battalions from the army of the Rhine, Croats, Hungarians, Tyroleans, &c. According to the plan agreed upon at Vienna, Alvinzi with the bulk of the army was to attack the French posts

between the Adige and the Lake de Garda, while General Provera, marching towards Legnano upon Mantua, with nine or ten thousand men, was, by that movement, to place General Serrurier between two fires.

On the 7th of January, 1797, Alvinzi left Bassano, and took his route through the gorges of Brenta to Roveredo, where he joined his right wing, and descended into the valley of the Adige. Provera approaching Legnano, on the 9th, fell in with Massena's advanced guard under General Duphot, afterwards assassinated at Rome. Having resisted a sufficient time for Massena's corps to prepare for an attack, General Duphot fell back upon Legnano. On the 11th, Bonaparte arrived at Verona to direct the movements of the whole army. An Austrian column marching towards that city, was met and defeated at St. Michel by Massena, who took three pieces of cannon and 600 prisoners. On the same day, and at the same hour, Joubert was attacked at Montebaldo, but seconded by General Mayer, he drove the Austrians out of a redoubt they had taken, and made several hundred prisoners. Bonaparte, informed of the movements of Alvinzi, bestowed his whole attention upon him, certain that if he could beat him, he should soon be able to give a good account of Provera.

On the 14th, before day-light, the battle of Rivoli commenced; partial at first, it soon became general. The left wing of the French, and the right of the Austrians, were closely engaged. The left of the French gave way: the enemy then attacked the centre. Berthier, at the head of his brigade, sustained the shock of the Austrians, who seemed assured of victory by their numbers. Two field pieces had been abandoned by their drivers, which were seized by the enemy, when an officer whose name was not remembered, advancing, cried out, "Fourteenth! will you let them take your artillery?" Berthier, who had purposely let the enemy approach,

now opened a terrible fire, which brought down men and horses round the guns. The Austrians fell back, and Massena coming up with the thirty-second, completed their rout. The battle had continued three hours, and the enemy had not brought up all his forces. At length, when their line was broken, almost a whole column was made prisoners, as were also 1500 men who had endeavoured to retire by the Lake of Garda. Alvinzi saved himself with difficulty. In two days the French had taken 13,000 men and nine pieces of cannon.

Massena highly distinguished himself; upon this occasion he obtained the name of "The spoiled Child of Victory," and afterwards the title of the Duke of Rivoli. Joubert, not equally successful, was equally brave. When it was necessary to recover the plain of Rivoli, his horse having been wounded, he alighted, seized a firelock, screwed on the bayonet, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers. Joubert, whatever post he filled, was always a grenadier. Bonaparte appreciated his merits, and loved to do him justice on all occasions. On his departure for Egypt, when he took leave of the Directory, he said to them, "I leave you Joubert."

It is said that Bonaparte passed the night preceding the battle of Rivoli in a state of uncertainty and indecision; at length, on receiving fresh reports, he exclaimed, "*It is clear—it is clear: to Rivoli!*" All his orders being given *viva voce* to save time, by aides-de-camp, and the troops assigned their different routes, Louis was dispatched to Peschiera, with orders to join Napoleon afterwards at Rivoli. Having executed this commission, Louis rejoined the army by break of day, and met some fugitives and baggage that had been plundered by the enemy, and about ten pieces of light artillery, retreating with the utmost speed. Inquiring into the cause of all this, they told him, the army had passed before day-break, but that the enemy had afterwards

formed behind it and turned it, and that the French were in fact, made prisoners.

Fortunately Louis was able to rally these fugitives, and their number was soon augmented by a squadron of the 15th dragoons, which happened to be behind. He then drew them up in line, ordered the artillery to be placed in a battery, and thus awed the enemy, who durst not advance further in the rear of the French army. He also discovered, by reconnoitring on his left, the divisions of Rey and Barraguey d'Hilliers: he joined them, and desired the former to attack, but without avail, and he only succeeded in obtaining a battalion by way of reinforcement. Returning to his small corps, he ordered the artillery to be fired, by way of giving information to the main body at Rivoli. He then posted his infantry as tirailleurs along a chain of hills on the right of the road, and ordered all those who were mounted to join the squadron of the 15th. After the commencement of firing they charged the enemy, and as Louis had foreseen, no sooner did the army which was surrounded hear the reports, than it attacked the enemy in all directions. Seeing troops on every side, the enemy, who thought himself surrounded, fled in disorder; and his lines, which had covered all the heights, being cut in many places, were deserted in an instant. The main body of the French cavalry charged from Rivoli, to break the line of that part of the enemy's force, at the instant when Louis was attempting the same measure in an opposite direction, so that they met face to face. Their detachments then joined their respective corps, and Louis returned to his brother, who expressed great satisfaction at his conduct. The victory was complete. At the close of the day, and during the night, columns of the enemy, which had been cut off or lost their way, were perpetually coming in.

General Provera, pursuing his route towards Mantua

without loss of time, could not prevent Augereau from coming up with his rear-guard at Anguari, where he lost 2000 men and sixteen pieces of cannon. In this affair a commander of the Austrian hussars insolently summoned Colonel Duvivier to surrender—"Come and take me," was the reply: the troops under both seemed to separate spontaneously, to give way to the combatants: two blows with the sabre brought the Austrian colonel to the ground, and his overthrow was soon followed by that of his regiment.

Provera having arrived at St. George's, flattered himself with entering Mantua this way, without any difficulty; for summoning General Miollis, who was charged with the defence of this position, he answered, "his business was to fight and not to surrender."

Not hearing any intelligence from Alvinzi, Wurmser and Provera imagined they had concerted a conjoint attack upon St. Antoine and La Favorite before Bonaparte could arrive; but he was there already, and had made his dispositions. In fact, he threw himself between the two Austrian divisions. Provera with his column, 7000 in number, were made prisoners; but Wurmser got into Mantua. For the same reason that the campaign of Castiglione was called the campaign of five days, that of Rivoli might be named that of four. Bonaparte, writing to the Directory, said, "In four days the army of the republic has been conquerors in two pitched battles and four combats. They have made 25,000 prisoners, among whom are a lieutenant-general, two generals, and from twelve to fifteen colonels. We have taken twenty standards, and killed and wounded at least 6000 of the enemy." The 75th at the battle of La Favorite refused cartridges; "With such enemies as we have before us," said they, "we must only use the bayonet." The battles of Rivoli and La Favorite had disabled Alvinzi from continuing the campaign; he endeavoured to assemble the wreck of

his army upon the Piave; but in this attempt they suffered considerably at Citadella, Bassano, and Carpendolo; nor was General Joubert less successful in the gorges of the Tyrol, against General Laudon at Roveredo, Calliano, Trent, and Segonzano.

In one of these rencontres the aide-de-camp, Lambert, followed by some carabiniers, made an hundred Hungarians, under a Major, lay down their arms. Massena remounting the Brenta, was successful in driving the Austrians before him; in the interim the army was waiting in the positions it had obtained, for the surrender of Mantua, or the arrival of reinforcements promised by the Directory: none arrived. Mantua, however, compelled by famine and disease, opened its gates on the 2nd of February, 1797. The garrison had devoured 5000 horses, and there was only two days of such provisions in the place. Wurmser and his suite excepted, the garrison were made prisoners of war. Ammunition and cannon to an immense amount were found in the place, and among the latter, those parks that Bonaparte had abandoned when he marched to Castiglione: thus realizing his prediction when he said to Berthier, pointing to this cannon and to that on the ramparts, "We shall soon retake all that are here, and take all that are there."

A curious instance of the effects of fear upon a spy, occurred a short time before the surrender of this place. A German was taken, endeavouring to obtain an entrance. Suspected of being a spy, he was searched by the soldiers, who found nothing upon him, but menaced him in French, which he did not understand. At length a Frenchman, who spoke a little German, was brought, who threatened him with instant death if he did not immediately tell all he knew. He accompanied these threats with violent gestures, drew out his sword, pointed it at the belly of the German, and said he would rip him up. The poor terrified stranger not perfectly understanding the broken

German spoken by the French soldier, thought when he saw him point his sword at his belly, that his secret was discovered, and cried out that there was no occasion to rip him up, for if they waited a few hours they would have it by the course of nature. Upon enquiry, it appeared that he was the bearer of dispatches to Wurmser, which he had concealed by swallowing, when he thought himself in danger of being taken. Some was for giving him a purgative without delay. Two officers were appointed to take charge of him, and in two hours the wished-for article was found, rolled up in wax, about the size of a hazel nut. When unrolled, this proved to be a letter from the Emperor Francis to General Wurmser, encouraging him to hold out a few days longer, as a large force was coming in a certain direction under Alvinzi, to relieve him.

After Wurmser had been disappointed in the arrival of Alvinzi to his relief, he sent proposals to Bonaparte to treat for the surrender of the place. He stated, that though the garrison had provisions for four months, he would capitulate upon honourable terms. Napoleon signified to him, that he was so well pleased with the noble manner in which he had defended the fortress, and entertained so high an opinion of him, that though it was known he had not provisions for three days longer, every thing he desired should be conceded. Wurmser was astonished at Bonaparte's information as to the real state of the garrison, and ever after entertained a great esteem for him. Previous to this event, Wurmser used to call him *the young man*.—"The Austrian general," Bonaparte observed, "was very old, brave as a lion, but so extremely deaf, that he could not hear the balls whistling around him!"—After the capitulation he wished Bonaparte to enter Mantua; but he was obliged to march against the Pope's troops, who had made a treaty with him and broken it. Some time after this Wurmser saved

the life of Bonaparte; as a messenger overtook him at Rimini with a letter from Wurmser, containing an account of a plan contrived by a priest to poison Napoleon at that place. "Wurmser, like Fox," he said, "acted a noble part."

On the day preceding the surrender of Mantua, Bonaparte had published another proclamation, reproaching the Pope with subterfuge and perfidy; declaring the armistice at an end, and recalling the French ambassador from Rome. Accordingly General Victor entered the town of Imola next day, and beheld the Pontifical army intrenched along the banks of the Sestra, defended by numerous redoubts and a train of artillery. But as the chief reliance of these troops was placed in the promises of the Pontiff, they were soon broken: they immediately abandoned the fertile plains of Romagna; the whole march of Ancona also acknowledged the tri-coloured ensign, which was now displayed from the top of the holy chapel of Loretto, while what remained of the votive offerings of popes, kings, and emperors, became the prey of the soldiery.

In the mean time the most alarming commotions prevailed at Rome, and when the French General arrived at Tolentino, and began to establish a republican form of government, his Holiness was most seriously disposed to negotiate a treaty signed there on the 20th of February, 1797. By this he agreed to renounce all claim to Avignon and the Venaissin; to furnish the statues, pictures and treasure stipulated in a former convention, and to pay the sum of fifteen millions of livres towards the expences of the war.

When the French army were approaching Rome in this year, the Papal government prepared to resist them, not by a *levy en masse*, but by a procession of sacred relics, viz. *Il santo Volto*, a miraculous portrait of the Saviour, and a *Santa Maria*, a portrait of the Virgin, both supposed to have been painted by supernatural agency: to

these were added the *chains* which St. Peter wore in prison when the Angel delivered him.

While traversing the duchy of Urbino, the French general did not neglect to remove all uneasiness experienced by the magistrates of the isolated republic of San Marino. He accordingly deputed to that small territory Citizen Monge, in order to assure its government of peace and his inviolable friendship. The political relations of the surrounding nations, he said, might experience changes; but if any portion of their soil should be disputed, or in case any part of the circumjacent states, although not contested, should be absolutely necessary to them, he was charged by the general in chief to request they would make the same known to him.

The answer of the republic was, that it would insert, in the number of their grand epochs, the most glorious in the calendar of their liberty, namely, the day of his mission to their republic. France knew, not only how to vanquish her enemies by force of arms, but also astonish her friends by her generosity. Happy in being able to reckon themselves among the models which excited the noble emulation of Frenchmen, they could not view, without the most lively interest, the French arms restoring to Italy the fair days of the Greek and Roman republics. "Return, therefore," said the authorities of St. Marino, "to the hero who sent you. Bear to him the free homage, not of that admiration, which we anticipate in common with the universe, but of our gratitude. Tell him that the republic of Marino, content in her mediocrity, is afraid of accepting the generous offer he has made for the aggrandisement of her territory, the consequence of which might endanger her liberty. But tell him also, that she will consider herself indebted to the generosity of the French Republic, and its invincible General, if she is able, for the public good, to cement her commercial relations with France, and conclude a treaty which may insure her existence. To that all her wishes are limited." They requested M. Monge to be the interpreter

of those sentiments to the general in chief of the army of Italy.

On Bonaparte's return from Tolentino, he presented the republic of St. Marino with four pieces of cannon, in the name of the French Republic; exempted her citizens in the Romagna from all contributions, and directed a supply of corn to be delivered to the inhabitants gratuitously, though they were willing to purchase the same.

Bonaparte did not confer less honour upon himself by the attention which he paid to the genius of Virgil. That great poet, it is well known, was a native of Andes, near Mantua, and Pietole rose out of the ruins of that village. The surrounding fields, which, by the generosity of Augustus, became the patrimony of the prince of poets, are still called the Virgilian fields. These, Bonaparte ordered should be exempt from every contribution, and their cultivators indemnified for all the losses they had sustained by the war. Such honours, however, were only a prelude to the brilliant *fête* celebrated some time after to the memory of Virgil, when the armistice of Leoben left the French at leisure to attend to the arts. An obelisk was erected to the memory of the poet, in the midst of a wood of oaks, myrtles, and laurels, the inauguration of which was performed with all the pomp of a triumph.

The Archduke Charles had assumed the command of the Austrian forces, but was in no haste to open the campaign; weakened by its defeats, that army could undertake nothing before the arrival of the expected reinforcements. The Archduke, therefore, confined himself to the covering of the Tyrol and Carinthia, and distributed his troops upon the borders of the Lavisio and the Piave, as well as over the space between those rivers; the main body being intrenched behind the Tagliamento. The French occupied the opposite shores of the Piave and the Lavisio, when the reinforcement promised by the Directory at length arrived, not of thirty thousand, but only eighteen thousand men; a supply sufficient to determine Bonaparte to march

upon Vienna, the only pledge he had not as yet made good.

With that view, it was necessary to commence the campaign before the snows began to melt, and thus preclude the Austrian engineers from fortifying the debouches of the mountains; it was no less important to beat the Archduke Charles ere he should be joined by the divisions marching from the Rhine. Bonaparte, therefore, began to advance on the 10th of March; but, in order to abandon Italy, he had a variety of obstacles to encounter, not less difficult than those which had opposed his entrance. To prepare his soldiers for new efforts, he undertook to recapitulate their former successes, which was done by addressing to them the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers! the taking of Mantua terminates a campaign which has given you an everlasting claim upon the gratitude of your country. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and in seventy combats; you have captured more than a hundred thousand prisoners; you have taken from the enemy five hundred field pieces, two thousand pieces of large calibre, and the equipages of four bridges. The contributions imposed upon the conquered countries have fed, clothed, and paid the army during the whole of the campaign; moreover, you have sent thirty millions to the public treasury. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with more than three hundred objects, *chef d'œuvres* of ancient and modern Italy. You have conquered for the Republic the finest countries in Europe. The Lombard and Cispadane republics are indebted to you for their liberty; their colours float, for the first time, upon the Adriatic. The Kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma, are detached from the coalition of our enemies, and have solicited our amity. You have driven the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica. But you have not yet achieved every thing—a grand destiny is still reserved for you; in you the country has placed her dearest hopes; continue to be worthy of her approbation.

"Of the number of enemies who coalesced to stifle the Republic in its birth, the Emperor of Germany alone remains: he has degraded himself from the dignity of a great power, by accepting pay from the merchants of London. He has no sterling policy, nor will he separate from those perfidious islanders, who, strangers to the calamities of war, contemplate its ravages upon the Continent with pleasure.

"The Executive Directory has spared no pains to give peace to Europe. The moderation of its propositions has borne no proportion to the strength of its armies. It has not consulted your courage, but, listening to the voice of humanity, endeavoured to effect your return to the bosoms of your families. Its voice has not been heard at Vienna; and there is no hope but in seeking peace in the heart of the hereditary states of the house of Austria. You will there find a brave people, weighed down by the war they have waged against the Turks, and by the present struggle. The inhabitants of Vienna and the states of Austria groan under the blindness and arbitrary conduct of its government. There does not exist an individual who is not convinced that the gold of England has corrupted the ministers of the Emperor. You will respect their religion and manners, and protect their property. You equally convey liberty to the brave Hungarian nation.

"The house of Austria, which in every war, for three ages past, has forfeited a portion of its power, and, discontented with its subjects, despoiled them of their privileges, will find itself reduced, at the end of this war, to accept such a peace as we shall grant it, and descend in reality to the rank of a secondary power, in which it has already placed itself, by taking wages from, and placing itself at the disposal of England.

"BONAPARTE."

The army, early in March, attained the Piave, a deep and rapid river, which some of the divisions passed on the 13th of that month, driving the Austrians to Sacile, where

they came up with their rear-guard, of which they made one hundred prisoners. On that occasion, a soldier, carried away by the current, had nearly been drowned, but was saved by a female suttler; when Bonaparte presented that courageous woman with a golden necklace, to which a civic crown was suspended, with the name of the soldier who had been preserved. At the approach of Massena, the enemy retired upon Bellune, and then to Cadore, being still pursued by that general, who made seven hundred prisoners, among whom was Prince de Lusignan, whose exchange Bonaparte opposed, on account of the opprobrious conduct of his prisoner towards the French sick at Brescia, and he was accordingly sent to Paris.

Having passed the Piave, the French army marched towards the Tagliamento, and, on the 16th, all the divisions were collected at Valvasone; the army of the Archduke being intrenched on the other side of the stream. In the passage of that river, Bonaparte himself was so nearly drowned, by the submersion of his carriage, that he for some moments gave up all thoughts of being rescued from the imminent danger.

General Guieux was ordered to approach the left of the intrenchments, while Bernadotte executed the same movement on the right. Each of those divisions being supported by a demi-brigade of light infantry, and flanked by the cavalry, placed themselves under the protection of the artillery. General Duphot, at the head of the light infantry, and sustained by the grenadiers, soon formed on the other side; while General Murat arrived at the same time on the right, supported by the grenadiers of Bernadotte's division. The whole line was then in motion, each demi-brigade in echelons, flanked and supported by the horse. In vain did the Austrian cavalry charge the French infantry; the moment they came up, they were obliged to retire. The Archduke then endeavoured to overwhelm the French right with his cavalry, and the left with his infantry; on which Bonaparte ordered Generals Dugua and Keller-

man to move forward with the cavalry of reserve, and the enemy's squadrons were routed, and their commandant made prisoner; the French not desisting from the pursuit. The Austrians occupied the village of Gradisca, yet, notwithstanding the darkness, General Guieux attacked, and forced them to quit the place in such disorder, that Prince Charles, who had remained to direct the retreat, narrowly escaped, being obliged to mount the first horse he could procure. Napoleon was indebted for that prompt success to the ability of his movements, and the superiority of his artillery. Among the prisoners taken, were several superior officers. Adjutant-General Kellerman, the son of the conqueror of Valmi, distinguished himself at the head of the French cavalry, and received many wounds in executing the manœuvre that decided the success of the day: he was subsequently charged with carrying the trophies taken from the enemy to France.

When the French attacked Gradisca, Murat signalised himself by an extraordinary trait of bravery: he advanced alone to the gate of the town, at which he knocked with the handle of his sabre. The grenadiers, not less brave than himself, and to whom General Serrurier had allowed time to eat their dinner, refused to quit the ground for that purpose, but established their cookery under the cannon of the place, and there enjoyed the repast.

This affair was the first in which the division of Bernadotte had borne a part, who arrived upon the borders of the Tagliamento, at the very moment of the combat. Throwing himself into the river, "Soldiers!" he exclaimed, "think that you are the army of the Rhine, and that the army of Italy is looking on you." Bernadotte was then a mere citizen and soldier, raised by his merit to the first rank in the army, who served the cause of liberty against a coalition, with as much courage as devotion. His principles, with respect to equality, were austere; but there was a politeness of manners connected with this severity, not usually found to associate. Struck with that contrast, Bonaparte

BERNADOTTE,

King of Sweden

Published by G. NICHOLS, Lovell's Court, Paternoster Row,
and Scott, Webster, and Geary, Charterhouse Square.

said of Bernadotte, "He is a republican grafted upon a French knight."

On the 21st, the French entered Goritz; and, the following day, another column, under Joubert, penetrated, through the Tyrol, into Carinthia, and having beaten an Austrian column, advanced upon Brixen. On the same day, the French General Dugua entered Trieste, and took possession of the celebrated mines of Istria; while Massena, having passed the Tagliamento in force, continued his march among the mountains to the source of the Drave.

The latter general, on his arrival at Tarvis, was attacked by an Austrian division from Clagenfurth, which had marched to the assistance of the corps hemmed in by him on one side, and driven by General Guieux into the defiles. However, after a conflict extremely obstinate, he routed them, with the loss of a great number of prisoners, among whom were three generals. The Emperor's cuirassiers, who had arrived from the Rhine, suffered severely. Meanwhile, Guieux, after a warm engagement, carried Austrian La Chiuse, a post extremely well intrenched, when a corps of the enemy coming to its defence, fell into the middle of the division of Massena, who made the whole prisoners. Thirty pieces of cannon, five thousand men, and four generals taken by the French, were the results of that affair.

The chain of the Alps, which separates France from Switzerland and Italy, equally divides the Italian part of the Tyrol from that belonging to Germany, the Venetian states from the dominions of the Emperor, and Carinthia from the counties of Goritz and Gradisca. Massena's division then occupied the defiles of the Noric Alps, where the imperialists had been so imprudent as to entangle all their baggage, and part of their army. The battle of Tarvis was fought above the clouds, on a height commanding an extensive view of Germany and Dalmatia. A French column, despatched to compel the submission of the Tyrol, completed its mission, and traversed, as conquerors, a country which Austria had always regarded as one of the

strongest bulwarks of her empire. After another severe engagement, an Austrian corps stationed on the Lavis was surrounded, and four thousand men made prisoners, the greater part of whom were Tyrolean chasseurs. Neumark, Clausen, Brixen, and Botzen, were successively taken, and, among other articles, thirty thousand quintals of flour were captured by the victors.

On the 28th of May, three divisions of the French army encamped at Villach, on the banks of the Drave. On the following day, Massena fell in with the imperial army, about a league from Clagenfurth, when an engagement ensued, and the French entered the town in the evening. After that affair, Prince Charles and the wrecks of his army, extremely discouraged, fled before the victors; and, on the 1st of April, Bernadotte's division attained Laubach, the capital of Carniola.

From the period of the opening of the campaign, Prince Charles lost near twenty thousand men made prisoners, so that the Austrians could make no stand, except upon the mountains in the neighbourhood of Vienna. A letter written by Bonaparte to the Archduke Charles, proposing peace, had been answered by that Prince, assuring him that he was not invested, on the part of the Emperor, with any powers for treating. Two hours after the receipt of the letter, and while the French troops were on their march to Freisach, the Archduke requested a suspension of arms for four hours; a proposition entirely inadmissible, as it was obviously made to gain the whole day.

Bonaparte, during those transactions, transferred his head-quarters to Judenberg, and prepared for decisive measures; but, on the 7th of April, the Count de Bellegard and Major-general Meerveldt despatched a letter to the general in chief, stating, that his imperial Majesty had nothing more at heart than to concur in re-establishing the repose of Europe. Bonaparte, in answer to such application, observed, that, considering the military position of the two armies, a suspension of arms was, in every point of

view, disadvantageous to the French. But, if it tended to open the road to a peace, so much desired, he would assent to the request. A convention was accordingly entered into, and a line marked out, which the French army was to retain, Serrurier's division occupying Gratz, a town containing forty thousand inhabitants. Not a single contribution was levied in Germany, and Bonaparte had the satisfaction to find that no complaints had been made against his troops. Preliminaries having been signed, the Executive Directory communicated their tenour to both councils. They contained the cession of Belgium, the acknowledgment of the limits of France, as decreed by the laws of the Legislative Body, and the establishment and independence of a republic in Lombardy. The preliminary treaty, signed at the Castle of Eckenwald, in Styria, on the 18th of April, has since been recognised under the appellation of the treaty of Leoben, which served as the foundation of the definitive treaty of Campo Formio, signed on the 17th of October following. Thus the sword, which had been first drawn in the month of May, 1792, and for six successive years had desolated continental Europe, was partially, but by no means permanently, restored to the scabbard.

Two months were spent in negotiations, and many times it had been thought the conferences were broken up. Europe, at last, was wholly indebted to the ascendancy which the character of Bonaparte had acquired, and the authority derived from his genius, for the conclusion of the peace so long desired. The negotiators at Udina assembled either at the house of M. Passeriano, plenipotentiary of the empire, or at the residence of the French minister. At one of those conferences, the Austrian envoy having obstinately persisted in bringing forward difficulties, which it was conceived had been obviated, Bonaparte observed, "That to refuse reasonable conditions, was to demand war. Well! war! but be upon your guard; your people are discontented. When I arrived at Leoben, they broke your minister's windows. Rapidly as I shall arrive at Vienna, I

fear I shall not be there time enough to prevent something worse than breaking windows." Then, snatching up his hat to retire, he added, "Before a fortnight has passed, there will be many more broken." Upon which, he actually quitted the house, without perceiving that one of the Austrian negotiators had attended him to his carriage.

The signature of the treaty, which speedily followed that singular scene, took place on the 17th of October, at midnight.

The treaty of Campo Formio was confined to the regulation of the interests of Austria: for settling those of the empire, a congress was assembled at Rastadt, and Bonaparte being sent thither, before his departure, took leave of his soldiers in these words:—

"Soldiers!—To-morrow I depart for Rastadt. Separated from the army, I shall only console myself with the hope of seeing you very soon, and again contending with new dangers. Whatsoever post the government assigns to the army of Italy, you will always sustain the glory and liberty of France. Soldiers! when you talk of the princes you have conquered, the battles you have fought, and the nations that owe their liberty to you, you may add, 'In two more campaigns, we shall exceed all this.'"

The visit of Bonaparte to Rastadt proved very short, being soon upon his route to Paris, when his journey proved a triumphant march. In every place he traversed, the people offered him that adulation and those honours formerly reserved for crowned heads. To Napoleon's negotiations, M. de la Fayette, Generals Latour Maubourg, and Bureaux de Pusy, owed their liberation from five years' imprisonment in the dungeons of Austria.

In negotiating the treaty of Leoben, the French Republic was named before the Emperor; and, upon the Austrian plenipotentiaries having proposed to acknowledge it in a special article, "The Republic," said Bonaparte, "does not require to be acknowledged. It is, in Europe, what the sun is to the horizon."

The government of Venice having involved itself in a war with France, during the campaign of 1797, was finally disposed of by the treaty of Campo Formio. It may be necessary to add the following narrative of the proximate causes of the change in that ancient aristocracy.

While the army under Bonaparte was engaged in the defiles of Styria, the Venetian Senate, taking advantage of Passion week, armed forty thousand peasants, to whom were added ten regiments of Sclavonians, with a view to cut off the communication between the French army and their resources. On the 13th of May, all the republicans in Verona were assassinated, together with several officers in Padua, and some hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers in different places; when Bonaparte, being informed of those proceedings, issued the following proclamation:—

"Throughout *Terra Firma*, the subjects of the most Serene Republic are in arms; the rallying cry is, ***Death to the French!***

"The number of soldiers of the army of Italy who have already fallen victims, amounts to several hundreds. In vain you affect to disavow the tumults and mobs which you yourselves instigated. Do you imagine that I, who have succeeded in carrying our arms into the heart of Germany, want strength to force you to respect the first nation in the world? Do you think the legions of Italy will endure the massacres you excite? The blood of my brethren in arms shall be avenged; and there is not a single French battalion which, when charged with that generous mission, will not feel conscious of three times the courage and strength necessary to punish you. The Senate of Venice has returned the generosity with which we always behaved towards it, with the blackest perfidy.

"I now send you my proposals, by one of my aides-de-camp commanding a brigade:—*Peace or war!* If you do not instantly take all necessary measures for dispersing mobs, and suppressing tumults; if you do not, on the in-

stant, arrest, and deliver into my hands, the authors of the murders which have been committed, war is declared.

"The Turk is not on your frontiers; no enemy menaces you; and yet you have, in pursuance of premeditated design, caused priests to be arrested, in order to produce a popular tumult, and turn it against the army. I give you four and twenty hours to suppress it: the times of Charles the Eighth are gone by.

"If, notwithstanding the indulgence which the French government has manifested, you reduce me to the necessity of making war, do not imagine that the French soldier, like the robbers you have armed, will ravage the fields of the innocent and unfortunate people of the Terra Firma. No; I will protect them, and they shall bless the very crimes that have obliged the French army to wrest them from your tyrannical sway. "BONAPARTE."

Napoleon soon after despatched General Augereau to Venice, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, who marched into that city, seized on the arsenal and forts, and demanded, at the same time, the three inquisitors and ten principal members of the Senate, accused of having instigated the assassination of the French. A democratic municipality was installed in a few days; when the members of the old government, finding neither commiseration nor respect from the people, were happy in being allowed to retire from their native country.

The symbols of oligarchy were soon removed by the French, in order to give place to those of liberty. However, they did not immediately dethrone the Lion of St. Mark; but, instead of the inscription upon the book held in his claws, *Pax tibi Marco Evangelista Meus*, viz. Peace be with thee, Mark, my Evangelist; they substituted, *Droits de l'homme et du Citoyen;* upon which one of the gondoliers merrily observed, "That the lion had at last turned over a new leaf."

Bonaparte having thus "conquered a continental peace," thought fit to return to Paris, on the 20th of November, where he was hailed with the most rapturous applause by the people.

In the despatch containing a detail of his last operations, and an explanation of his conduct, by way of recompence for those successes he wished to be recalled, a request that was not granted. The Directory, apprehending an approaching crisis, could not bear the idea of the presence of so popular a general; in addition to which, it felt the necessity of his presence in Italy, and the influence it would produce upon the definitive negotiations then on the point of being opened; besides, in negotiating with Austria, he had been charged to take vengeance upon the Venetian government for its duplicity towards the French Republic.

Napoleon, according to Las Cases, declared, that he returned from the campaign of Italy, in 1797, with no more than three hundred thousand francs in his possession, although he might easily have possessed ten or twelve millions. He expected, after his arrival in France, to have received some great national reward. Chambord was to have been given him, but the Directory set that measure aside. He had, notwithstanding, transported to France fifty millions of francs for the service of the state.

In some occasional details of the number of the Austrian armies employed in the campaigns of Italy, mis-statements might occur even in the official accounts. "The inequality of strength, however, between the French and Austrian forces, was uniformly so great, that the French general in chief, in his reports, frequently thought it necessary to diminish the number of the enemy, least he should discourage his own army by a publication of facts."

The Directory, however, in all probability influenced by jealousy, would not even consent to assign its General a magnificent hotel in Paris. The members observed, that the services of Bonaparte were such as could not be rewarded by *money*. Every description of people endea-

voured to see him, and their enthusiasm was at its highest pitch. He, however, rarely associated with any excepting Kleber, Dessaix, Caffarelli, and some *savans*. The Directory gave him a splendid *fête*, and Talleyrand, then minister for foreign affairs, another, at both of which he remained but a short time.

Immediately prior to Napoleon's quitting the army of Italy, Madame Bonaparte furnished a small house in the rue Chantereine, which the Directory ordered to be called rue de la Victoire. There, it is said, he was much surprised and mortified, on finding that the drawing-room furniture, which appeared to be nothing uncommon, was charged at a most enormous rate; but, on inspection of the upholsterer's directions, finding that every article was to be of the very best kind, made after new designs, and invented expressly for the house, he conceived himself bound to pay the bill. A disposition to inquire into the price of articles was indulged by Bonaparte, even at the period of his greatest prosperity. On one occasion, returning to the Tuileries, which had been magnificently fitted up during his absence, he walked to a window overhung by a rich curtain, and asking some of the attendants for a pair of scissars, cut off a superb gold acorn suspended from the drapery, and coolly putting it into his pocket, continued his inspection of the furniture, to the astonishment of all present, who were not a little puzzled to find out his motives. Some days afterwards, at his levee, he drew the acorn from his pocket, and gave it to the person who superintended the furnishing of the palace. "Here," said he, "heaven forbid that I should think you plunder me; but some one has doubtless robbed you—you have paid for this at the rate of one-third above its value. They have dealt with you as if you was the steward of a great nobleman. You would have made a much better bargain, had you not been known." Napoleon, it appears, had walked out one morning in disguise, and visited some of the shops in the rue Saint Denis, where he asked the price of ornaments similar to that previously cut from the curtain. Every

one, in process of time, knew his habits in that respect; such being, as he stated, his grand domestic plans for ensuring domestic economy.

Soon after Bonaparte's return from the army of Italy, he took his place in the Institute at Paris, where he considered himself as the tenth member in his class, consisting of about fifty; at the head of which were Legrange, Laplace, and Monge. A circumstance, that attracted considerable notice at the time, was, to behold the young General of the army of Italy publicly discussing profound metaphysical subjects with his colleagues in the Institute. He was then called the geometrician of battles, and the mechanician of victory.

People flocked to the sittings of the Institute to behold the General, who never failed to be present. When he went to the theatre he was always in a private box. Marshal Saxe, Lowendhal, and Dumourier, had, in their time, been exhibited at the opera in triumph, on returning from the armies; but Bonaparte would not listen to any proposition of the kind from the managers.

The troops, returning to France, made him the subject of their songs, in which they panegyrised him to the skies; many of those verses expressing a wish that the lawyers should be turned out, and the General made king. Under such circumstances, it was not surprising jealousy should exist among the members of the Directory. However, they always paid him the greatest attention: and if desirous of consulting him, they constantly sent one of the ministers with an invitation; he was admitted immediately, took his seat between two of the Directors, and then gave his opinion upon matters as they arose.

With all their affected candour, however, they could ill dissemble their jealousy in regard to his increasing popularity, and he perceived all the difficulty and delicacy of his situation. The Directory had, at first, the intention of sending him to Rastadt, to relieve them from the responsibility of the Congress then assembled there; but the General refused that

mission, urging it was not fit that the same hand should direct the pen and the sword. Subsequently, the Directory appointed him commander of the army of England, which measure served to conceal, from the eyes of the enemy, its plan and preparations for the expedition to Egypt.

The troops composing the army in question covered Normandy, Picardy, and Belgium. Bonaparte travelled through, and inspected the whole, *incognito;* when he uniformly found himself the object of conversation and general panegyric. At Antwerp, he first conceived the great maritime ideas afterwards put in execution there, and it was then he formed the plan of the new canal at St. Quentin. France, at this epoch, had continual cause of complaint against the canton of Berne and the Swiss aristocracy; as all the foreign agents who had excited troubles in France, constantly held their assemblies at Berne, which was their *fulcrum.* The General of Italy highly approved of the resentment of the Directory; he thought the moment arrived for securing to France the political influence of Switzerland, but he did not conceive it necessary on that account to subvert the country. He therefore proposed that the French ambassador should present a note, supported by two bodies of troops in Savoy and Franche Compté, and demand that the Pays de Vaud, Argau, and the Italian bailiwicks, should become free and independent cantons, equal to the others; he was also instructed to declare that France and Italy had much reason to complain of the aristocracy of certain families of Berne, Soleure, and Fribourg; but that they would forget all, if the peasants of those cantons were reinstated in their political rights. All the changes in question would have been effected without employing arms, had not Rewbel caused the adoption of a different system. It was then necessary to send French troops into Switzerland; blood was in consequence shed, and Europe became alarmed at the increasing power and influence of France.

About this period, the miserable court of Rome, provoked, rather than corrected, by the treaty of Tolentino,

quarrelled with the Cisalpine republic, and placed the Austrian general, Provera, at the head of its troops. A tumult also taking place in Rome, Duphot, a French general, who happened to be in that capital as a traveller, was murdered at the door of Joseph Bonaparte, then officiating as French ambassador, who thought it prudent to retire to Florence.

Napoleon being consulted, said it was necessary to chastise Rome, but not destroy her; that an example should be made of the guilty; and an extraordinary embassy sent from Rome to Paris, in order to make the necessary apologies.

Bonaparte's advice not being listened to, an army was despatched to seize upon Rome, and establish a republic. The executive power was vested in three consuls; a senate and a tribunate composing the legislative. Fourteen cardinals attended at the church of St. Peter, who sang a *Te Deum* in commemoration of the event, which was nothing less than the abolition of the temporal authority of the Pope. The people, however, were irritated, and gave themselves up to the most licentious spoliations; destroying the furniture of the Vatican, seizing the pictures and precious objects, in which plunder they were joined by the French soldiery. The latter having, it is said, been incited thereto by Austrian, Neapolitan, and English agents.

Bernadotte, some time previous, having been very imprudently sent ambassador to Vienna, caused the tri-coloured flag to be hoisted on his mansion in that city; which was of course torn down, and himself insulted by the populace. The Directory wished for immediate war with Austria on that account, and offered to vest in Bonaparte the command of the army of Germany; but he did not concur with them in opinion, when satisfaction was demanded, and acquiesced in by Austria; the conferences at Selze then took place, which retarded the Egyptian expedition for a fortnight; in fact, Bonaparte wished that grand undertaking to be delayed till the affairs of Europe should wear a more tranquil appearance; but that suggestion on his part only ren-

dered the Directory the more eager to despatch it. At the period in question, so unpopular was the Directory, that Napoleon had been solicited by a party, composed of deputies possessing influence in the two councils, patriots of Fructidor, who sought a general protector, the most powerful and most enlightened, to stir and put himself at the head of the Republic; he, however, refused, conscious that he was not strong enough to go alone. He felt fearful of compromising his character, and resolved to embark for Egypt, with a determination to return, should circumstances occur to render his presence either necessary or useful.

The 21st of January, 1798, was the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. when Bonaparte was solicited to appear at the ceremony. On the one hand, it was feared, if he did not go, the holiday might become unpopular; and, on the other, if he did appear, the Directory would be forgotten and neglected: the latter actually occurred. Bonaparte went to the church of St. Sulpice, merely as a member of the Institute, but was discovered, after which all eyes were fixed exclusively upon him. When the festival concluded, the Directory sallied forth alone, the multitude remaining to make the air resound with cries of "Long live the General of the army of Italy!" Bonaparte was not friendly to that festival; he thought it a proceeding of the most impolitic description; that the event it commemorated was a catastrophe, an absolute national calamity; that the French people might have regained their rights, and even founded a Republic, without staining themselves with the execution of a "prince declared inviolable, and exempt from responsibility by the constitution itself." National festivals, he said, are celebrated for victories gained; but victims left on the field of battle are lamented.

On the eve of Napoleon's departure for Egypt, he became possessed of Malmaison, and there deposited nearly all his property: he purchased it in the name of his wife, older than himself, and consequently, in case of his sur-

viving her, he must have forfeited all right to the same. The fact, as stated by himself, was, that he never had a taste or desire for the acquirement of riches.

CHAP. VIII.

Expedition to Egypt—Proclamation to the Army of England—Embarkation at Toulon—Malta—Alexandria—The Arabs—Battles of the Pyramids and Embabe—Proclamation at Cairo—Battle of Aboukir—Admiral Bruyès—Ibrahim Bey—Visit to the Pyramids—Excursion to Suez and the Red Sea—Siege of St. Jean d'Acre—Sir Sidney Smith—The Angel El-Mahdy—Caffarelli—Shooting the Turks—Plague at Jaffa—Destruction of the French Fleet by Lord Nelson—Defeat of the Turks at Aboukir—General Kleber—Privations of the French Army—Bonaparte's Departure from Egypt and Arrival in France—Proposed Expedition into Africa—Plans for delving Canals in Egypt.

THE Directory at this period carried into effect the most fatal of all its projects; that of sending a powerful army to the East, in order to seize upon Egypt, and thence attack the British empire in India. The treaty with Austria was no sooner ratified at Campo Formio, than the Directory excited the expectation of France, and all Europe, by proclaiming its determination to invade Great Britain; for which purpose, troops were sent into the western departments, that force being denominated the *Army of England*, of which Bonaparte was appointed commander in chief.

The projected invasion of Egypt was conducted with much secrecy, and, during the preparations, the world was amused with tales of *monstrous rafts*, &c. constructed to convey the *Army of England* over to Britain.

Napoleon arrived at Toulon on the 10th of May, 1798, and, previous to setting sail, he addressed the following proclamation to his army:—

"Soldiers! You constitute one of the wings of the army of England: you have fought on the mountains, on the plains, and amidst sieges: you must now fight on the

ocean. The Roman legions, which you have so often imitated, *but not yet equalled*, fought against Carthage, on the same sea, as well as upon the plains of Lama. Victory always sat on their helm, because they were uniformly brave, patient under fatigue, well disciplined, and united among themselves.

"Soldiers! All Europe has her eyes upon you. Great is the destiny you have to fulfil: you must face severest combats, perils, and fatigue; nay, you must do more for your country than you have ever yet performed: the happiness of the human race is now vested in your hands.

"Soldiers, sailors, cavalry and infantry, bombardiers! Remember, that on the day of battle you all stand in need of each other's assistance. Soldiers! Sailors! you have hitherto been neglected; the Republic now looks up to you. The genius of that Republic watches over you, which, from its birth, was decreed to be the arbiter of Europe, and will equally become that of the sea and the most distant climes."

Every thing being in readiness, Bonaparte, on the 20th of May, embarked with forty thousand veterans, mostly from the army of Italy, without reckoning artists, savans, and others. When in sight of the island of Gazzo, the fleet was joined by a convoy from Civita Vecchia; when the first operation proved the capture of Malta, which was surrendered to Napoleon on the 12th of June.

In the evening of the 30th, the fleet arrived within a few leagues of Alexandria, at which period Bonaparte issued another proclamation, dated from the ship l'Orient, wherein he recommended the strictest discipline, respect for personal property, and the religion of the country in which they were about to land; the following being an extract from that document:—

"The people with whom we are about to mingle, are Mahometans, the first article of their faith runs thus:—*There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.* Do not contradict them: Act with the natives as you

have done with the Jews and Italians; pay the same respect to their muftis and imans, as you have done to rabbis and bishops; shew the same tolerance for their mosques, and all the ceremonies prescribed by their Alcoran, as you have already manifested in respect to convents and synagogues: for the religion of Moses, and that of Jesus Christ."

At length the French disembarked* from the roads of the town, which they attacked, when the place capitulated after a dreadful carnage; the inhabitants, however, were respected by their conquerors, the commander concluding a treaty with the Arabs, wherein, so far from opposing their religious opinions, he spoke of Mahomet as an extraordinary personage, worthy the homage of all nations. In

* On the arrival of the French expedition in the port of Alexandria, the resident consul was immediately sent for. To the great astonishment of his countrymen, he informed them, that the English fleet had made its appearance the preceding day before the port, had demanded information with respect to the French fleet, and had then continued its course towards Alexandretta. At that very moment the signal for vessels of war was made, and the order of battle given; a firm belief being entertained that the English fleet was at hand.

Napoleon, at this instant, expressed the uneasiness he felt. "*Fortune,*" he exclaimed, "*why hast thou favoured us so long, to abandon us now, when former success only adds to the poignancy of our misfortune? In a few moments Alexandria would have been ours, and the whole of the transports in safety!*"

Happily for him, the signals were false; the vessels that were seen turned out to be French frigates, which had fallen behind, and not the English force.

On the arrival of the French fleet on the Egyptian coast, Napoleon wished the troops to be landed immediately, but Admiral Bruyès would not consent, being afraid of the sea, then agitated by a strong west wind; but the general felt the value of passing moments. He saw the expedition exposed on the coast, and Alexandria in arms, preparing for a defence; and he wished to land, in spite of the violence of the waves.

The fleet accordingly anchored, and, during the evening and part of the night, the disembarkation took place, a few leagues from Alexandria, near a structure called the tower of Marabout.

When Napoleon wished to execute the disembarkation without loss of time, he said to Admiral Bruyès, the moment he quitted the Orient: "*We must exert ourselves to open the port of Alexandria for you, with the least possible delay; and, if it be not in a condition to receive the fleet, we must place you in safety elsewhere. You have conducted us successfully; your task is over, but ours only commences.*" "*What!*" rejoined the brave Bruyès, "*do you take us for common carriers, and our ships for baggage waggons?*"

his first proclamation to the Alexandrians is found this remarkable passage:—

"Cadies, Cheicks, Imams, Tchorbajas, tell your people that we are the true Mussulmans. Was it not we that overthrew the power of the Pope?"

The Arabs, who in the morning had attacked the advanced guard, sent a deputation to the general in chief, with some French soldiers who had fallen into their hands. They declared that, as the French only came to fight the Mamelukes, they could not rank as their enemies. Bonaparte on that occasion broke bread with them, as a symbol of the faith of treaties, and made them various presents. They warmly expressed their gratitude, swore to be faithful to the alliance, and then returned, plundering all the French they chanced to encounter.

From Alexandria the army took the road to Cairo, and defeated the Arabs and Mamelukes, who had assembled to dispute the passage to Rhamania and Chabrane. The Mameluke cavalry sought in vain to cut down the French troops; they remained impenetrable; twenty times they were about to charge, but were restrained by fear, and at length thought proper to make good their retreat.

On the morning of the 10th of July, the army came in sight of the Pyramids, and at night was within six leagues of Cairo. The French found twenty-three Beys intrenched with all their forces at Embabe, where Bonaparte caused them to be attacked in their intrenchments, by Generals Dessaix and Rampon; when, notwithstanding their gallant and imposing appearance, after some *sorties*, victory declared in favour of the French. Nearly all the Mamelukes were slain, while two thousand cavalry, and the greater number of the Beys also fell, their leader, Murad Bey, being wounded in the cheek. More than fifty pieces of cannon, and four hundred loaded camels, became the spoil of the conquerors.

That brilliant victory was followed by the surrender of Cairo, on the 22d of July; but, before Bonaparte en-

tered the city, he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants:—

"People of Cairo, I am satisfied with your behaviour; you did well not to oppose yourselves to me: I am come to destroy the race of the Mamelukes, and protect the commerce of the natives. Be confident, you have nothing to fear; let each individual return peaceably to his home, and continue to exercise the accustomed ceremonies of religious worship, for *it is my will* they should be attended to. Fear not for your wives, your houses, nor your properties; dread not the disturbance of that religion which I sincerely venerate."

On the 1st of August, the battle of Aboukir, so fatal to the French navy,* took place, when Bonaparte wrote to the Directory as follows:—

* The heroic conduct, filial attachment, and lamentable death of young Casabianca, at the famous battle of Aboukir, will be read with feelings of the liveliest emotion by the latest posterity. His father commanded the Orient, the flag ship of Admiral Bruyès, and being mortally wounded at the moment she caught fire, he was carried into the gun-room. The boy, whose age did not exceed *thirteen*, displayed the utmost activity during the engagement. Stationed among the guns, he encouraged the gunners and sailors, and when the firing happened to be impeded in the heat of the action, through excess of zeal and agitation, he restored order and tranquillity by a coolness which was quite astonishing at his age; he made the gunners and sailors sensible of their inadvertencies, and took care that each gun was served with cartridges suitable to its calibre.

He knew not that his father had been mortally wounded; and when the fire broke out on board the Orient, and the guns were abandoned, that courageous child remained by himself, calling loudly upon his father, asking whether he could quit his post, like the rest, without dishonour. The fire was making dreadful ravages, yet Casabianca still waited his father's answer, but in vain! At length an old sailor informed him of the misfortune of his parent; and told him, that he was ordered to save his son's life by surrendering. The noble-minded boy refused, and immediately ran to the gun-room; when perceiving his father, he threw himself upon him, held him in his close embrace, and declared he would never quit him! In vain the father entreated and threatened; in vain the old sailor, who felt an attachment to his captain, wished to render his commander that last service. "I MUST DIE, I WILL DIE WITH MY FATHER!" answered the generous child. "*There is but a moment remaining,*" observed the sailor; "*I shall have great difficulty in saving myself. Adieu!*"

The flame reaching the powder magazine, the Orient blew up with a dreadful explosion, at eleven o'clock in the evening. The whole horizon seemed on fire, the earth shook, and the smoke which proceeded from the vessel, ascended heavily in a dense mass, like an im-

"It appeared to me that Admiral Bruyès would not go to Corfu, till he was certain it was impossible for him to enter the port of Alexandria; and that the army, from which he had received no intelligence for a considerable time, should be in a position which would prevent its retreating. If, in this fatal instance, he has been in fault, he has expiated his error by a glorious death.* Under such circumstances, destiny has proved incontrollable, as in many others, which proves that if it gives us the power of subjugating the Continent, it accords the empire of the seas to our rivals. But, however severe this reverse of fortune, it can be attributed only to her accustomed fickleness: she has not yet abandoned us. So far from such being the case, she has favoured us, during this operation, more than she ever did before.

"When I arrived before Alexandria, I learned that the English had passed by with a powerful force, a few days before. In spite of a terrible storm, at the risk of being shipwrecked, I disembarked. I recollected, that while preparations were making for their landing, the signal for battle was waving at a distance. It was justice to myself. 'Oh, Fortune!' I exclaimed, 'wilt thou abandon me? Only five days, and ——.' I marched all night, I attacked Alexandria by early dawn, with three thousand men, worn out with fatigue, without cannon or cartridges, and in five days I conquered Rosetta and Deman-

mense dark balloon. The atmosphere then brightened up, and exhibited the terrific objects of all descriptions, which had been precipitated upon the scene of battle.

Thus perished the young and gallant Casabianca, who had in vain covered with his body the mutilated remains of his unfortunate father!

* The misfortune of the French admiral began about midnight, when the explosion of l'Orient took place, on which occasion the battle ceased for a short period, when it recommenced, and continued till three in the morning. On that momentous day for England, nine of the enemy's ships were captured, one frigate sunk; while another vessel and frigate were burnt by their respective crews. Two ships and two frigates were all that escaped falling into the hands of the gallant Nelson, wherein were the Vice-admirals Decres and Villeneuve; the former of whom, commanding the light squadron, was stationed out of the action, having been ordered by Bruyès to remain as a corps of observation.

hour, so that I had already established myself in Egypt. In five days I knew the squadron would be safe from the attacks of the English, however formidable their numbers: so far, however, from that being the case, it remained exposed during the rest of the month; and procured a supply of rice, for two months, from Rosetta. The English were in sight, with a superior number of sail, for ten days, in that part of the sea: they gained the intelligence of our having taken possession of Egypt, and of our entry into Cairo; and Fortune, perceiving that all her favours were useless, abandoned our fleet to Fate."

Ibrahim Bey fled towards Syria, where Bonaparte resolved to pursue him with vigour, knowing that he had concluded a treaty of peace between England and Turkey, and that he might expect to be attacked by those two powers, as well by land as sea. All the ports of Egypt were blockaded, and he had received no intelligence from France since the affair at Aboukir. He therefore disposed his force, but was first desirous of viewing the Pyramids.

Being accompanied by many officers of his staff and others, he visited the grand Pyramid of Cheops, attended by many muftis and imans. It was on that occasion, when beholding the aspect of those imperishable masses, he emphatically exclaimed, "From the summits of those Pyramids, forty ages behold us!"

The following conversation passed in the presence of Napoleon's suite, with the mufti and imans, Solyman, Ibrahim, and Mohamed. This Napoleon afterwards owned was "*quackery*," but of a sublime order.

BONAPARTE.—God is great, and his works are marvellous. Behold a great work of men's hands. What was the intention of him who built this stupendous pyramid?

SOLYMAN.—He was a powerful king of Egypt, whose name, we believe, was Cheops. He wished to prevent sacrilegious persons from violating the repose of his ashes.

BONAPARTE.—The great Cyrus was buried in the open air, that his body might return to its elements: Do you not think he acted wiser?

SOLYMAN *(bowing)*.—Glory to God, to whom all power is due!

BONAPARTE.—Honour to Allah! Who is the Calif who caused this pyramid to be opened, and troubled the ashes of the dead?

MOHAMED.—It is believed that it was Mahomet, the commander of believers, who reigned, many ages ago, at Bagdat. Others imagine it was the renowned Aaron Raschild, (God pardon him!) who thought of finding hidden treasures. But when they had, by his orders, entered this apartment, tradition relates, they found nought but mummies, and this inscription on the wall: "The wicked shall commit iniquity without fruit, but not without remorse."

BONAPARTE.—"Bread obtained by the wicked by stealth, shall fill his mouth with gravel."

MOHAMED *(bowing)*.—It is the essence of wisdom.

BONAPARTE.—Glory to Allah! There is no other God but God. Mahomet is his prophet, and I am one of his friends.

SOLYMAN.—The blessings of peace and health to him, sent from God; and also to you, invincible General, favourite of Mahomet!

BONAPARTE.—Mufti, I thank you: the divine Koran is the delight of my mind, and the attention of my eyes. I love the prophet; and I intend, before long, to inspect and honour his tomb in the sacred city; but my mission is previously to exterminate the Mamelukes.

IBRAHIM.—May the angels of victory sweep away the dust in your way, and cover you with their wings! The Mameluke has deserved death.

BONAPARTE.—He has been struck, and delivered up to the black angels, *Moukir* and *Quakir*. God, on whom all depend, has commanded his dominion to be destroyed.

SOLYMAN.—He extended the hand of rapine over the lands, the harvests, and the horses of Egypt.

BONAPARTE.—And also over the most beautiful slaves, very holy mufti. Allah has dried up and withered his hand. If Egypt is his farm, let him shew the deed that God has granted it to him; but God is just and merciful to his people.

IBRAHIM.—O thou bravest man amongst the children of Issa (J. C.), Allah will command the exterminating angel to follow you, to deliver the land of Egypt.

BONAPARTE.—The land was delivered up to twenty-four oppressors, all rebels to the Grand Signior, our ally, (may God encompass him with glory!) and to ten thousand slaves assembled from Circassia and Georgia. Adriel, the angel of death, has breathed on them; we are come, and they have disappeared.

MOHAMED.—Noble successor of Scander (Alexander), honour be to your invincible arms, and to the unexpected thunder, which issues from the midst of your warriors on horseback *(the flying artillery)*.

BONAPARTE.—Believest thou this thunder is the work of the children of men? Dost thou believe it? Allah has placed it in my hands by the genius of war.

IBRAHIM.—We acknowledge, in your works, Allah, who sends you. Would you be a conqueror, if Allah had not permitted it? The Delta and all the neighbouring countries rescued with thy miracles.

BONAPARTE.—A heavenly car *(the balloon)* shall ascend, by my orders, into the regions of the clouds; and lightning shall descend on the earth along a metal wire *(the electrical conductor)*, as soon as I shall command it.

SOLYMAN.—And the great serpent that issued out from the foot of Pompey's pillar, on the day of your triumphal entry into Scandarich (Alexandria), and which remained dried up at the base of the pillar—was not that another wonder performed by your hand?

BONAPARTE.—Lights of the age! you are destined to see still greater wonders, for the days of regeneration are arrived.

IBRAHIM.—The divine Unity regards you with an eye of love,

adorer of Issa; and makes you to be the support and prop of the children of the prophet.

BONAPARTE.—Has not Mahomet said, "Every man who adores God, and performs good actions, (whatever his religion may be,) shall be saved?"

SOLYMAN, MOHAMED, IBRAHIM *(bowing)*.—He has said it.

BONAPARTE.—And if I have (by order from on high) humbled the pride of the vicar of Issa *(the Pope)*, by diminishing his terrestrial possessions, to heap on him heavenly ones,—tell me, was it not to render glory to God, whose mercy is infinite?

MOHAMED *(with a timid air)*.—The mufti of Rome was rich and powerful; but we are very poor muftis.

BONAPARTE.—I know it: fear not; you have been weighed in the balance of Belshazzar, and you have been found light. Does not this pyramid, then, contain any treasure known to you?

SOLYMAN *(his hands on his breast)*.—None, lord; we swear it, by the holy city of Mecca.

BONAPARTE.—Misfortune, and thrice misfortune, wait on those who seek after perishable riches, and who covet gold and silver like clay.

SOLYMAN.—Thou hast spared the vicar of Issa, and treated him with clemency and kindness.

BONAPARTE.—He was an old man I honoured; (may God fulfil his wishes, when they are regulated by justice and truth!) but he was wrong in condemning to eternal flames all Musselmen; and God forbids all intolerance.

IBRAHIM.—Glory to Allah and his prophet, who has sent thee in the midst of us, to rekindle the faith of the weak, and open again to the faithful the gates of the seventh heaven.

BONAPARTE.—You have said well, too zealous muftis! Be faithful to Allah, the sovereign master of the seven wonderful heavens; to Mahomet, his visir, who traversed all those heavens in a night. Be the friends of France; and Allah, Mahomet, and the French will reward you.

IBRAHIM.—May the prophet himself cause you to sit on his left hand, in the day of resurrection, after the third sound of the trumpet!

BONAPARTE.—Let him who hath ears to understand, hear! The hour of political resurrection is come, for all the people who groaned under oppression. Muftis, imans, mullaks, dervises, calenders, instruct the people of Egypt; encourage them to join themselves to us, in order to annihilate the Beys and Mamelukes. Favour the commerce of France in your countries, and their enterprises to arrive hence, in the ancient country of Brama. Offer them a staple in your ports, and drive far from you the islanders of Albion, cursed amongst the children of Issa,—such is the will of Mahomet. The treasures, industry, and friendship of the French shall be your portion, until you ascend to the seventh heaven, and that, seated by the side of *Houris*, with black eyes, always young, and always virgins, you repose under the shade of the *Laba*, whose branches will spontaneously offer to true Musselmen every thing they can possibly desire.

SOLYMAN *(bowing)*.—You have spoken as the wisest of the mullaks: we place confidence and faith in thee and thy words: we will serve thy cause, and God hears us.

BONAPARTE.—God is great, and his works are marvellous! His peace be on you, most holy muftis.

As soon as convenient after this interview, Bonaparte organised the government of Cairo, established there an

institute, a library, and a laboratory for chemistry. Order and quiet reigned for a time throughout the city, when, on a sudden, a terrible and unforeseen insurrection burst forth: General Dupuy was killed, the house of Caffarelli pillaged, his guards and his agents strangled; while every Frenchman who came in the way of the rebels experienced the same fate. The Arabs presented themselves at the gate of the city, the *generale* was beat, the French were immediately in arms, and formed themselves in moving columns: they attacked the insurgents, made a horrible slaughter, and gained a complete victory. Bonaparte then put a stop to the sanguinary conflict, and addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Cairo:—

"Those men, by whom ye have suffered yourselves to be deluded, those victims to their obstinacy, are no more. God commands us to be merciful; and I have been merciful towards you.

"I have only been wroth, because you rebelled against me. I deprived you of your Divan—I this day restore it. Scherifs, imans, expounders of the law of Mahomet, let the people know, that those who nourish enmity in their hearts against me, *shall have no peace in this world, nor in that to come.* Is there any man blind enough not to see, that *all I undertake is predestined?* Is there any one such an infidel, as to conceive a doubt against that belief which teaches, that predestination governs this vast universe, and that all is subject to the empire of Fate? Let the people know, that since the beginning of the world it was written, after having destroyed the enemies of Ismalism, and broken in pieces the cross, I should arrive from the uttermost part of the west to fulfil my appointed task. Open the Koran, and prove to the multitude, by more than twenty passages in that sacred book, that what has now happened, and shall yet come to pass, through me, is there foretold.

"Let those who are only prevented from execrating us by the terror of our arms, change their sentiments; for, in calling down the anger of Heaven upon us, they are

only pronouncing their own destruction. Let the true believers lift up their prayers, unceasingly, for the success of our arms. I can penetrate into the secret recesses of your hearts. *Nothing is hidden from me; I am acquainted with those thoughts to which utterance never was yet given.* A day will come, when *all the world will clearly see that I have been acting by the commands of Heaven, and that all human efforts can avail nothing against me.* Blessed are the faithful who will be the first to follow me!"

This proclamation produced such an effect, that a hymn to the praise of the French General was sung in the principal mosque of Cairo, one of the strophes of the same containing the following sentences:—

"The warriors of the West are worshippers of the almighty Allah. They honour the laws of his prophet, they love and cherish the human race, and succour the oppressed. Therefore is the favoured son of victory the chosen of the mighty Allah! Therefore are the warriors of the West protected by the invincible shield of the mighty Allah!"

On the 26th of December, Bonaparte arrived at Suez: the following day was spent in viewing the town and coast, and ordering such works and fortifications as he deemed necessary for their defence. On the 28th he passed the Red Sea at a ford near Suez, which is practicable at low water, and proceeded to the fountains of Moses, about three leagues and a half from Suez, in Asia. These fountains are formed by five springs, which rise from the tops of low sand-hills; the water is sweet, but a little brackish; near them are the remains of a small modern aqueduct, which conveys the water to cisterns near the sea-shore. Bonaparte returned the same evening to Suez; but, as it was high water, he found himself compelled to ascend to the extremity of the Red Sea. That route was the more tedious, from the guide having lost his way in the marshes, where they were sometimes up to the middle in water. Thus, like a second Pharaoh, Napoleon narrowly escaped

and camels. You have taken all the strong places which defend the wells of the forest. You have scattered over the plains of Mount Tabor that cloud of men who appeared from every part of Asia, with the hope of plundering Egypt. The thirty sail which you saw arrive before Acre but twelve days ago, conveyed the army that was to lay siege to Alexandria. Compelled to retreat to Acre, those forces met the end which fate had assigned them. A part of the enemy's colours will grace your entry into Egypt. In short, after having, with only a handful of men, carried on the war for three months, in the very heart of Syria, taken forty field pieces, fifty stands of colours, made six thousand prisoners, rased the fortifications of Gazah, Jaffa, Caiffa, and Acre, we are going to return to Egypt. The period is now arrived for me to go on shore.

"Yet a few days longer, and you may hope to seize the Pacha himself, in the midst of his palace; at this juncture, the taking of the Castle of Acre is not worth the loss of our time: those brave men also, who might chance to fall, are required to execute operations infinitely more essential.

"Soldiers! We have a course to pursue, replete with peril and fatigue. After we shall have reduced the East to a state incapable of acting against us in this campaign, we may perhaps find it necessary to push our conquests to a part of the West. You will there find fresh opportunities of acquiring glory; and if, amongst so many battles, each day should be marked with the death of a hero, new warriors will spring up, and enrol themselves among those few who derive enthusiasm from danger, in the cause of freedom."

Napoleon travelled on a dromedary the greater part of the way through the Desart to Syria: harsh treatment provokes the fury of that beast, and renders its resentment dangerous. It eats and drinks sparingly; but the roughness of its pace excites something like sea-sickness in the rider. It will travel twenty leagues a day. The drome-

dary regiments formed by the Emperor, were very destructive to the Arabs; but though it is not a beast of draught but burden, the French in Syria were skilful enough to yoke it to their field-pieces.

The army having crossed the desart, by the rapidity of its movements had certainly disconcerted the plans of its Asiatic enemies. It had scattered on the plains of Edredon and Mount Tabor, eighty-five thousand horse and ten thousand foot; but the vain-glorious hope of seizing Dgezzar Pacha in his palace at Acre, did not impose upon Bonaparte.

While preparations were making for a return to Egypt, the army withstood several *sorties* of the enemy; but at length, finding it requisite to raise the siege, the general in chief, according to his despatches to the Directory, raised a battery of twenty-four guns and mortars, which kept up a constant fire for seventy hours, destroyed the houses of Dgezzar level with the ground, and overthrew the principal monuments: he added, that the whole town was a constant blaze of fire.

After experiencing fatigues almost incredible, Napoleon issued orders for the departure of the army; and, on the 15th of June, the French arrived at Cairo, in "parade order."

Sir Sidney Smith, Bonaparte acknowledged was a brave officer, and displayed considerable ability in the treaty of El Arish, for the evacuation of Egypt by the French. He took advantage of the discontent which prevailed among the troops of the latter, at being so long removed from France, and other circumstances. He equally manifested great honour in sending immediately to Kleber the refusal of Lord Keith to ratify the treaty, which had saved the French army; had he concealed that fact seven or eight days, Cairo would have been surrendered to the Turks, and the French army necessarily obliged to yield to the English; in addition to which, Sir Sidney, he allowed, had manifested humanity and honour in all his proceedings to-

wards the French who fell into his hands. Sir Sidney, when subsequently taken prisoner, had landed at Havre, on account of some foolish bet made to go to the theatre, as it has been stated; while others assert, it was for the purpose of obtaining information: he was arrested, however, and removed to the prison of the Temple, at Paris. Shortly after Bonaparte returned from Italy, Sir Sidney wrote to him, requesting he would intercede in his behalf; but, under the circumstances in which he was taken, Napoleon could not interfere. Bonaparte, speaking of that officer, added, "He is active, intelligent, intriguing, and indefatigable; but I believe that he is *mezzo pazzo*."

Being asked if Sir Sidney had not displayed great bravery at the siege of Acre, Napoleon replied, "Yes, the chief cause of the failure there was his taking all my battering train, on board several small vessels; but for that, I should have captured Acre in spite of him. He behaved very bravely, and was well seconded by Phillipeaux, a Frenchman of talent, who had studied with me as an engineer. There was also a Major Douglas, who behaved with great gallantry. The acquisition of five or six hundred English seamen, as cannoniers, proved of infinite benefit to the Turks, whose spirits they revived, while instructing them how to defend the fortress."

Sir Sidney Smith dispersed proclamations among the French troops, which certainly shook the faith of many; and Bonaparte, in consequence, published an order, stating, he was *mad*. Some days after, the former sent to Bonaparte, by means of a flag of truce conveyed by a lieutenant, a challenge to meet him at some place, in order to fight a duel. Napoleon replied, he had business of much greater importance on his hands, than to think of troubling himself with a single combat; had he, however, received a challenge from Marlborough, then indeed it might have been worth his while; but, if the English seaman really felt inclined to amuse himself at a tilting match, he would send him a tall, bullying grenadier, and neutralise a few yards

of the sea coast, whither the mad commodore might repair, and enjoy fighting to his heart's content. Bonaparte, after all, when speaking of Sir Sidney Smith to Mr. O'Meara, acknowledged that "he liked the character of the man."

At St. Jean d'Acre, Napoleon lost Caffarelli, of whom he was extremely fond. That general, who entertained a reverential respect for his leader, was delirious several days prior to his death; yet, when the latter visited him, the announcement of his name recalled him, as it were, to life, when he became more collected, his spirits revived, and he conversed coherently; but always relapsed into his former state when Napoleon retired.

At this period, a scene of a novel kind took place, which occasioned a revolt in the province of Bakhyreh. A man, from the interior of Africa, landed at Deruch, who, on arriving, assembled the Arabs, telling them he was the angel El-Mahdy, spoken of in the Koran by the prophets; and, some days after, two hundred Meyhrebyns arrived, as if by chance, and ranged themselves under his command. It had been prophesied that the angel El-Mahdy was to descend from heaven, and this impostor pretended such had been the case in the midst of the desart; and, although he appeared naked and destitute, he distributed gold in abundance, which he possessed the art of concealing. The sole nourishment he seemed to take was derived from dipping his fingers every morning into a bowl of milk, and then applying them to his lips. He went to Damenhour, surprised sixty men belonging to the Nautical Legion, who had been imprudently left there, instead of being stationed in the redoubt of Rhamania, all of whom he caused to be strangled. Encouraged by that success, he heated the imaginations of his disciples, and boasted, that, by throwing a little dust on the French guns, he could prevent the powder from taking fire, and cause the shot to fall harmless before the true believers. A hundred such miracles were attested by his followers to have been performed by him every day.

Brigadier-general Le Fèvre marched from Rhamania,

with four hundred men, against El-Mahdy; but, finding every moment that the number of his enemies increased, he felt the impossibility of being able to bring such a host of fanatics to reason, and therefore formed his battalion into a hollow square, being employed the whole day in slaughtering. Those deluded and senseless wretches threw themselves upon the guns, so prejudiced were they in the conviction of their safety. When night arrived, and the fanatics began to count their dead and wounded, there were more than a thousand slain, which fatally convinced them that miracles were no longer to be expected from Heaven.

General Lanusse, whose activity in combating the enemy was well known, arrived at Damenhour, where he put fifteen hundred men to the sword; a heap of ashes being the only memorial left of the space once occupied by that village. The angel El-Mahdy, wounded in several places, felt his zeal much abated; and concealed himself in the wilderness, where he continued to be surrounded by many of his disciples, as the heads of fanatics are generally bereft of the organs of reason.

Napoleon, speaking on the subject of the measures he had caused to be taken at Jaffa, remarked, that, on discovering the troops were infected with the plague, he caused the sick to be sent to the hospitals, and separated from the rest. For a short time, he persuaded the infected it was only a fever; and, to convince them, went publicly to the bed-side of a soldier who was actually infected, and handled him. As to the charge of shooting three or four thousand Turks, some days after the capture of Jaffa, Napoleon stated, there were not more than from one thousand to one thousand two hundred. The rigid conduct pursued on that occasion was in consequence of the discovery of a number of Turkish troops, who had been taken a short time previous at El Arish, and sent to Bagdat on their sacred parole not to serve again; when, instead of proceeding to that city, they had thrown themselves into Jaffa. However, before Bonaparte attacked that place, he sent an officer, bearing a

flag of truce, whose head, immediately afterwards, the French saw elevated on a pole over the wall. If again spared, Napoleon inferred the same Turks would have proceeded to St. Jean d'Acre, and renewed the same game; he therefore, in justice to the lives of his soldiers, could not act otherwise than avail himself of the rights of war. He often repeated, that he would do the same thing over again, and so would Wellington, or any other general, commanding an army, under similar circumstances.

The following were the terms of the capitulation of El Arish, for the violation of which, part of the garrison of Jaffa was shot:—

"The commander of fort El Arish, and the other three commandants, to the general in chief—We have received the capitulation you have addressed to us, and consent to deliver fort El Arish into your hands, when we will return to Bagdat over the Desart. We send you a list of the Agas of the fort, who promise *upon oath*, for themselves and their troops, not to serve in Dgezzar's army, or return to Syria for the space of one year, reckoning from the present day. We will receive a pass and colours from you, and leave in the castle all the supplies found there. The whole of the Agas in the fort solemnly swear, by our Lord, Moses, Abraham, and by the PROPHET, to whom may God be propitious, and by the Koran, to execute faithfully the foregoing articles, and, above all, not to serve Dgezzar. The Most High and his Prophet are witnesses of our good faith.

(Signed) "IBRAHIM NIRAN, Commandant of the Fort of El Arish.
"El H. HADGEZ MOHAMMED, Colonel of the Maugrebins.
"El H. HADGY ZAYDR, Aga of the Arnauts.
"MOHAMMED AGA, Chief of the Commissaries."

Previous to leaving Jaffa, seven or eight men were found so dangerously ill, as to be pronounced irrecoverable, and fear was entertained least the infection should spread. Some of those unfortunate soldiers, perceiving they were to be abandoned, earnestly entreated to be put to death. Baron Larrey, the chief surgeon, who knew they could not survive many hours, conceived it would be an act of charity to comply with their desires; but Desgenettes did not approve of the measure, saying, his profession was to cure the sick, and not despatch them. At length, according to Larrey's suggestion, a rear-guard of four or five hundred cavalry was ordered to remain behind, that those wretched men might not be tortured by the Turks, and they all expired before the troops left them, though it was afterwards said, Sir Sidney Smith found one or two alive. Such is the simple fact attending the affair in question, which has been tortured by the enemies of Bonaparte into the most cruel and heinous of deeds ever perpetrated by man. The story of poisoning is supposed to have originated in something said by Desgenettes, afterwards misconceived or incorrectly reported.* "Do you think," said Napoleon to Mr. O'Meara, "that if I had been capable

* Baron Larrey, principal surgeon on the French staff, after his return to Europe, published a work, intitled, *Relation Historique et Chirurgicale de l'Expédition de l'Armée de l'Orient en Egypte et en Syrie*, which he dedicated to Bonaparte, as a tribute due for the care and attention he had always paid to the sick and wounded soldiers. Assalini also speaks in high terms of his attention to the sick, as will appear from the following passage:—"The commander in chief, great in every emergency, braved, on several occasions, the danger of the contagion. *I have seen him in the hospitals at Jaffa, inspecting the wards, and talking familiarly with the soldiers attacked by the epidemic fever;* a conduct which produced the best effect, not only on the spirits of the sick, but of the whole army. That heroic example encouraged, at the same time, the hospital attendants, whom the progress of the disease, and the fear of contagion, had greatly alarmed."

In addition to those testimonies, an English gentleman, who was at Jaffa at the time of the French expedition, declared, that, to his knowledge, Bonaparte paid so much attention to the sick, and went so frequently to the hospitals himself, to see that all possible care was taken of the diseased, that the physicians remonstrated with him against it, representing, that it was running the utmost hazard of his own life,—but they never could make him relax on that point.

of secretly poisoning my soldiers, or such barbarities as causing my carriage to be drawn over the dead, and the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, my troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without parallel? No, no, I never should have combated a second time, as some of the wounded, with strength enough left to pull a trigger, would have despatched me."*

* During one of Napoleon's journeys, his carriage wheel happened to run over a poor man, who was a watchmaker by trade, and being far advanced in years, the fracture proved dangerous. Bonaparte being at that period first consul, with his accustomed humanity, gave orders that the sufferer should have every attendance and assistance which might be necessary. The person charged with that commission, upon his return, presented to Napoleon the following lines, from the pen of the wounded man; which tend very forcibly to denote the general feeling of admiration with which Bonaparte, even at that early period, inspired the French people.

Des enfers maintenant je puis percer l'abîme;
J'ai vu ce que la France a de plus parfait,
J'ai vu ce que le monde avait de plus sublime,
J'ai vu Bonaparte, et je meurs satisfait.

Translation.

The shades' deepest gloom, without fear, I can dare,
For perfection I've seen, which to France heav'n has sent;
I've witnessed on earth, what's sublimest and rare;
Bonaparte I've gazed on, and now die content.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the life of Napoleon, that it was thought necessary, by interested persons in England, to brand him with every crime which could be possibly committed, either against God or man. Among other alleged stigmas on his character, he was accused of being greatly addicted to gallantry. It is curious, however, that while a belief of this was current in Britain, *an extreme indifference to the fair sex was ascribed to him by many of his own subjects and countrymen, as a matter of reproach*, as will be seen by the following jeu d'esprit.

Some French ladies, descanting one day upon the merits of Bonaparte, soon after his elevation to the imperial dignity, one of the party said she thought him a greater general than Alexander; another declared she conceived him wiser than Solomon. "Pooh!" exclaimed a third; "what do you mean by calling him wiser than Solomon?—The Jewish king had seven hundred wives and three hundred mistresses, while Bonaparte is contented with one wife, and she advanced in years."

From the most trifling circumstance that could be brought forward to the disparagement of Napoleon, even to the most enormous crimes, —every thing urged against him in England, for many years, was readily and eagerly received as indisputable truth; while any circumstance which reached the country favourable to him, was imputed solely to French flattery and adulation. Scarcely a publication issued from the press for several years, however foreign to the affairs of France, in which some means were not found of descanting upon and traducing Bonaparte:—equal zeal was shown by our orators, in the

Napoleon, in reference to the dreadful destruction of the French fleet by Admiral Nelson, observed, he had sent an officer named Julien, from Cairo, with peremptory orders for Bruyès to enter the harbour of Alexandria; but that, unfortunately, the messenger was killed by the Arabs on his way, when a fort built at Rosetta was named after that officer. Napoleon had also despatched an order to Admiral Bruyès to set sail for Corfu, for the purpose of provisioning the fleet, which required supplies. Well knowing that the English were inferior in the number of ships, as well as cannon, and that many of their vessels were slighter built, and the guns of less calibre, he persuaded himself, equally with the French Admiral, that Nelson would not speedily return in order to give battle; which fatal assurance, on their parts, lulled them into a false security, which proved the forerunner of the disastrous catastrophe that ensued. The obvious faults committed by Bruyès, and the extraordinary temerity of Nelson, combined with a want of activity and ardour manifested by Villeneuve, produced the rest. Cæsar caused the vessels to be destroyed, which had transported his conquering legions to the shores of Albion. Cortez, after setting foot upon the continent of America, imitated his example, in order that his soldiers might be reduced to the necessity of conquering; and the followers of Bonaparte, by the destruction of the French fleet, joyfully yielded themselves up to encounter a similar destiny.

Bonaparte censured Bruyès extremely, for engaging at anchor, without having first fortified the island with twenty or thirty pieces of cannon, as well as for not

pulpit, in the senate, at the bar, and on the stage:—nay, that spirit was carried to such a ridiculous excess, that his name was even made use of *to frighten children;* and instead of their being told, according to ancient custom, that if they were naughty, the *old man would appear and take them away,* they were threatened with Bonaparte's coming for that purpose.

Where is the individual in this island, and under thirty years of age, who does not recollect such to have been his earliest impressions respecting Napoleon?

having brought out a Venetian sixty-four and some frigates, then laying in the fort of Alexandria.

Bruyès, during a conversation held some weeks previous with Bonaparte, had demonstrated, that a fleet ought never to engage at anchor, as it must always be beaten, on account of the facility which the enemy would have in taking his position; and an order actually existed, prohibiting a combat under such circumstances, notwithstanding which, Bruyès adopted that faulty method. Prior to the departure of Julien, orders had been sent to the Admiral, not to quit the coast of Egypt, until he had ascertained the physical impossibility of the fleet being able to enter the harbour of Alexandria. If possible, he was ordered to carry it into execution; if not, to proceed to Corfu. As Bruyès had not ascertained the fact, but, on the contrary, Barré asserted it was practicable, he did not think himself authorised in sailing; and, at the same time, was fearful of entering the harbour, if even possible, conceiving it hazardous, without being first assured the French were in full possession of the country. He was ignorant of Napoleon's success at Cairo, until twenty-four hours previous to being attacked by Nelson; and in this manner he continued hesitating, and neglected to secure himself.

If Nelson had met the French fleet on its way to Egypt, the result might have been different. Napoleon had placed from three hundred and fifty to four hundred veterans in each line of battle ship, who were trained to the guns twice a day; and had given orders that every vessel should engage an English ship. The vessels were small, and Bonaparte conceived not well manned; he therefore issued such order to prevent any advantages being obtained by superiority of skill in manœuvring.

About the middle of August, after his return to Cairo, Bonaparte learned the disembarkation of the Turks at Aboukir, the surrender of that place, and the dangerous situation of Alexandria. Mustapha Pacha, with about eighteen thousand men, intrenched himself in the penin-

sula of Aboukir, where a number of cannon had already been disembarked. The obstinacy of the Turkish troops in defending themselves, was beyond description; and never had French valour been put to so severe a test in that part of the world. At length, the Turks, confounded and terror-struck, on finding their retreat cut off, beheld death on every side: the French infantry charged with the bayonet, while the cavalry cut them down with the sabre, so that no alternative remained but the sea. In consequence of which, ten thousand men committed themselves to the waves, amidst showers of musketry and grape-shot, of whom not one was saved.

On the landing of the Turks, the French had fallen back to concentrate their forces; when the Pacha who commanded felt delighted, conceiving that movement the result of fear; wherefore, on perceiving Murad Bey, he exclaimed, "These are your terrible French! See how they fly before me!"—"Pacha," replied the indignant Murad Bey, "render thanks to the Prophet; if they should return, you will disappear before them, like dust on the wind!" A prediction but too fatally verified.

After that sanguinary conflict, Murad Bey, who had several interviews with the French generals, could not suppress his surprise at the small stature of the men. Kleber's appearance alone came up to his ideas; which induced the Turks to think he was not a Frenchman. That general was a native of Alsace, and had spent the early part of his life in the Prussian service.

The garrison of the fort of Aboukir, after the slaughter of the Pacha's troops under its walls, continued to resist for four days, when, as the Turkish forces never capitulate, they marched out, and, after laying down their arms, embraced the knees of the conqueror.

In the fort were found three hundred wounded, and eighteen hundred dead, some of the bombs having killed as many as six men; while upwards of four hundred of the prisoners died within twenty-four hours after their surren-

der, from excessive eating and drinking. The defeat of the Turks at Aboukir filled the French at Cairo with rapture; Murat* was promoted to the rank of a general of division, and Bonaparte ordered that the names of Murat, Roize, and the numbers of the regiments of cavalry present at the battle, should be engraved upon pieces of brass cannon. Mustapha Pacha and the Turkish prisoners were sent to Cairo, as pledges of the glory of the French arms, as nothing less than their presence would suffice to convince the incredulous Egyptians that the French did not deceive them, in regard to the extent of the loss sustained by the Turks.

In consequence of some Turkish prisoners being sent back to their fleet on the coast, one of the French officers accompanying them, procured the English gazettes, and those of Frankfort, up to the 10th of June, 1799, containing intelligence of the recommencement of hostilities, and reverses sustained by the French in Italy, which doubtless confirmed Bonaparte in his project of returning to France, then menaced abroad, disturbed at home, and lulled by chimerical hopes. In fact, Napoleon without doubt saw the country in the most favourable state for the accomplishment of his ulterior views. The French general in chief had become so popular with some of the Egyptians, that they gave him the name of Sultan Kebir (Father of the Fire); and the consideration with which he had treated the Sheiks, prevented his falling a victim to fanaticism, as proved the case with General Kleber, whose conduct to the natives rendered him odious

Napoleon always shared the fatigues of the army; and their privations were sometimes so great, that the troops

* The leading feature in the character of this Murat seems to have been that gallant generous bravery so becoming a soldier, which he displayed on all occasions. In his very last retreat, he risked his life, to save the son of one of his nobility, who wanted the courage to do it himself. They were crossing the river, under the fire of the Austrians; the horse of the young man was wounded, and his situation appeared hopeless. Joachim, moved by the distress of the father, plunged into the stream, and brought the son in safety to the bank, where the father had remained a helpless spectator of the transaction.

were compelled to contend with each other for the smallest comforts. Upon one occasion, in the Desart, the soldiers would scarcely allow their General to dip his hands in a muddy pool of water; and when passing the ruins of Pelusium, almost suffocated by heat, a soldier yielded him up the ruins of an ancient door-way, beneath which he contrived to shade his head for a few minutes; which, Napoleon observed, "was no very trifling favour."

The discontent of the French troops in Egypt, which at times ran very high, was happily spent in jokes and sarcasms. General Caffarelli, supposed to have been one of the promoters of the expedition, was by no means liked; he had a wooden leg, having lost the other on the banks of the Rhine. Whensoever the soldiers saw him hobbling along, they would say, loud enough to be heard, "That fellow cares for nothing, since he is certain, happen what may, always to have one leg in France."

In reference to the six or seven acres of land, promised by Bonaparte to each of his troops on his departure from France, on finding themselves in the midst of the Desart, surrounded by the boundless expanse of sand, they pretended to cheer one another with the view, observing, that their General "had been very moderate in promising so little; he might have made a more unlimited offer, and we should not abuse his good nature." On first entering the Desart they hailed one another, exclaiming, "Look at the six acres awarded to each of us by the government!"

Madame la Comtesse Verdier, a very beautiful and accomplished Italian lady, wife of the gallant general of that name, who particularly distinguished himself during the campaign of Egypt, was so enthusiastically fond of her husband, that she accompanied him from Europe to share the fatigues of that hazardous expedition, during which she uniformly clothed herself in male attire. Upon one occasion, this heroic female, happening to find a veteran grenadier, who had become blind from the effect of the climate and the sand of the Desart, straying far from his

comrades, and in all probability doomed to death on the trackless plain, galloped up to the unfortunate soldier, at the risk of being captured by the enemy, when, directing him to keep fast hold of the tail of her horse, she in that manner walked the animal, and rescued the brave fellow from his impending danger. The lady in question, being in company with Bonaparte and the other officers, at the foot of one of the Pyramids, where no provisions were at hand, some rats were procured and broiled, of which, however, one of the General's aides-de-camp was too squeamish to eat. Napoleon, feeling indignant, upbraided the officer, and turned to Madame Verdier, saying, "Here, sir, is a lady who will put you to the blush." He at the same time presented her with a portion of the food; whereof she cheerfully partook, to the satisfaction of all present, except the aide-de-camp, who was long after subjected to the taunts of his brother officers. This fact was told to the writer by the Countess herself, with whom, as well as the General, he was intimately acquainted.

Yet, although the devotion and attachment of the army had performed so much for their general in chief, we have his own authority for asserting, that no troops were less adapted for that quarter of the world. It would be difficult to describe the disgust, discontent, melancholy, and despair of the army, on its first arrival in Egypt. Bonaparte beheld two dragoons rush from the ranks and plunge into the Nile. Bertrand saw the most distinguished generals, and among them Lannes and Murat, in momentary fits of rage, throw their laced hats in the sand, and trample upon them. "That army," said Napoleon, "had been satiated with wealth, rank, pleasure, and consideration; it was not calculated to endure the desarts and fatigues of Egypt." More than one conspiracy was formed to carry off the flags from Alexandria; the influence, character, and glory of the General, being alone able to restrain the troops. One day, Napoleon, in turn losing his temper, rushed among a group of discontented generals,

and, addressing himself to the tallest, said, "You have held mutinous language; take care I do not fulfil my duty; your five feet ten should not save you from being shot, in a couple of hours."

The remains of that army, two years after Napoleon had left Egypt, notwithstanding the effects of climate, and the incessant combats in which it had been engaged during eight and twenty months, were still so numerous, when they filed off as prisoners before the British army, as to excite considerable surprise.

Las Cases says, the French force, on its landing in Egypt, amounted to thirty thousand men, which force was augmented by the wrecks of the naval battle of the Nile, and some partial arrivals from France, yet the total loss of the army amounted only to 8915 men, viz.:—

Killed in battle - - - - -	3614
Died of their wounds - - - -	854
—— through various accidents - -	290
—— from common disorders - - -	2468
—— from the pestilential fever - -	1689
Total - -	8915

The address and justice of Napoleon, considered as a conqueror, had wonderfully attached the Mahometans in Egypt to his interest. In a letter, written to him by the Sherif of Mecca, he styled him, "The protector of the holy Kaaba." He fearlessly conversed with the people of the country, and always expressed sentiments of justice which struck them with surprise. On his return from Syria, an Arab tribe went to meet and pay him its respect; when, desirous of being engaged as guides, the son of the chief, mounted on his dromedary, rode beside Napoleon, chatting to him with great familiarity. "Sultan Kebir," said he, "I could give you good advice, now you are returning to Cairo."—"Well, speak, my friend, and if your advice be good, I will follow it."—"If I were in your place, as soon as I got there, I would order the richest slave merchants into the market, and choose twenty of the

prettiest women for myself; I would next send for the richest jewellers, and make them surrender a good share of their stock. I would then do the same by all the other merchants; for what is the use of reigning, or being powerful, if not to acquire riches?"—"But, my friend," said Bonaparte, "is it not more noble to preserve riches for others?"—The young Arab seemed to reflect a little, but probably was not convinced. On another occasion, some Arabs entered a frontier village, and a poor peasant was killed. The Sultan Kebir flew into a violent passion, and, vowing vengeance, gave orders that the tribe should be pursued into the Desart. One of the Sheiks then present could not refrain from laughing: "Sultan Kebir," said he, "you are playing a bad game just now; those people can do you ten times more injury than you can do them. Besides, what is it all about? Was the poor peasant your cousin?" (a proverbial expression among them).—"He was more than my cousin," replied Napoleon: "all those whom I govern are my children; power is given to me only that I may ensure their safety."—All the Sheiks bowed their heads, and said, "Oh, that is very fine! You have spoken like the Prophet."

Sufficient reasons for Bonaparte's return to France have already been stated, namely, increase of obstacles, and the decrease and discontent of the army. On the 22d of August, the General received a letter from Admiral Gantheaume, informing him that the English and Turkish fleets had sailed, and a journey into the Delta was immediately spoken of at head-quarters. Bonaparte, it was said, would be absent but a few days; his object being to visit that fertile part of Egypt, in order to promote the establishment of canals, which had been so long neglected.

In writing to the Divan, and announcing his departure, he said, "Remind the Musselmen frequently of my love for them. Acquaint them that I have two great means to conduct men—persuasion and force; with the one I gain friends, and with the other I destroy my enemies."

Upon General Kleber he conferred the command of the army; and, on the 23d of August, 1799, accompanied by the Generals Berthier, Murat, Lannes, and Marmont, embarked on board the frigates La Muiron and La Carere, leaving the following proclamation to his troops:—

"Soldiers! The affairs of Europe recal me to France. I leave the command of the forces to General Kleber. The army shall soon receive intelligence from me. It is painful to leave soldiers to whom I am so much attached; but it shall not be for long. The general whom I have deputed in my place, possesses both my confidence and that of the government."

When Bonaparte embarked, an English cutter was in sight of the two frigates, and the officers accompanying him drew the most dismal presages from that circumstance, saying it would be difficult to escape the vigilance of the enemy.—"True!" exclaimed Bonaparte, "but we shall get clear—Fortune has never abandoned us; we shall arrive, in spite of the English." They set sail during the night; and Gantheaume, perfect master of his manœuvres, ranged along the coast of Africa, choosing a longer but a more certain route for navigating.

On the 30th of September, the two frigates entered the Gulf of Ajaccio; and while lying to for a boat, which had been sent in, a sudden squall obliged them to come to anchor within the Gulf bathing the native country of Bonaparte. It had been currently reported that Napoleon was dead; so that when chance thus brought him home, nothing could be more touching than the reception he experienced. He was saluted by the batteries; the whole population rushed to the boats, and surrounded the French frigates; and public enthusiasm even triumphed over the fear of infection, as the vessels were immediately boarded by crowds, crying out to Bonaparte, "It is we that have got the plague, and must owe our deliverance to you!" It was then Bonaparte learned, that the fruits of all his victories in Italy had been forfeited in two battles; that the Russians

were upon the French frontiers, and that confusion and dismay reigned in the interior.

On the 8th of October, being in sight of the coast of France, they perceived an English fleet, consisting of from eight to ten sail. Admiral Gantheaume was desirous to tack about immediately, and return to Corsica.—"No, no," said Bonaparte, "that manœuvre would conduct us to England; and my will is to arrive in France." On the 9th, Bonaparte disembarked near Frejus, in the South of France, after a surprising voyage of forty-one days, the sea being covered by the enemy's ships. He landed without having performed the customary duty of quarantine, and gained Paris on the 16th, where nothing could be more unexpected than his arrival, the news of which spread with the rapidity of lightning. Scarcely had his flag as commander in chief been displayed, when the coast in the vicinity of Frejus was covered with people, who, in terms of veneration and delight, ejaculated the name of—"Bonaparte!" France poured forth her multitudes before him who was destined to restore her diminished splendor; and already from her frontiers the population anticipated, at his hands, the revenge of Marengo.

Napoleon regretted much, that, during his stay in Egypt, he had not attempted to penetrate into Africa on the north, south, east, and west, and formed a junction in the centre; or, if starting only from the east and west, his intended plan was, that the two divisions should meet in the centre, then separate, and proceed one to the north, and the other to the south. He thought that five or six hundred picked soldiers, with the requisite number of surgeons, physicians, botanists, chemists, astronomers, and naturalists, all willing to embark in the enterprise, might have accomplished something worthy of the age. A necessary supply of beasts of burthen, small leathern boats for crossing rivers, skins for conveying water through the desarts, and light manageable field-pieces, would have rendered the enterprise easy and complete.

Bonaparte, while in Egypt, received presents from the Queen of Darfour, to whom he sent some in return; and, had he remained longer, his intention was to have carried geographical investigations into the northern districts of Africa to a great extent, by placing in caravans some intelligent officers, for whom he would have procured hostages.

Bonaparte had several plans in contemplation, for excavating canals in Egypt. He intended to have made two; one from the Red Sea to the Nile at Cairo, and the other to the Mediterranean. For that purpose, he caused the Red Sea to be surveyed, when he found that its waters were thirty feet above those of the Mediterranean when at their highest, but only twenty-four at the lowest. His plan was, to have prevented any water from flowing into the canal, unless at low water, which, in a distance of thirty leagues of its passage to the Mediterranean, would have been of little consequence; in addition to which, he would have had sluices made. The Nile was seven feet lower than the Red Sea when at its lowest, but fourteen feet higher during the inundation; and the expense was calculated at eighteen millions of francs, and two years labour. He remarked, that it was only owing to the ignorance and barbarity of the Turks that the English India trade was not ruined; that if any European nation possessed Egypt, it would speedily be effected; and that at some future period Egypt would destroy the East India Company. Bonaparte also remarked, that, in case Kleber had lived, the English would never have conquered the country, as he would have marched the army down from Cairo in nine days, and overwhelmed the British forces. If he had been there himself, he added, he would have removed the troops in seven days, and presented himself on the coast before the English could have disembarked, having previously done so, on the Turks landing with Sir Sidney Smith.

CHAP. IX.

Consequences of Napoleon's absence in Egypt—Weakness and division in the Government—Napoleon's superiority in the Cabinet—Appointed to the Command of the City of Paris, and the Army charged with restoring the tranquillity of Paris—Bonaparte presents himself to the Council of Ancients—Addresses the Soldiers—Dispersion and Resignation of the Directory—The Council of Five Hundred adjourn to St. Cloud—Tumult in the Council of Ancients—Entrance and Speech of Napoleon—Condemnation of the Constitution of the Year III.—Violent Proceedings in the Council of Five Hundred—Lucien Bonaparte in personal danger—Rescued by Napoleon and his Grenadiers—Speech of Lucien—Dispersion of the Council of Five Hundred—Formation of the new Government and Constitution.

DURING Bonaparte's absence in Egypt, it is well known how much France had to deplore the loss of his military genius, and with what rapturous acclamations he was hailed on his return. No one, recollecting the sensation produced by his sudden appearance at Frejus, like a spirit welcomed from another world, could be surprised at the celebrity and triumph of his subsequent career on his return from Elba. His resumption of power at the former period was, taking it altogether, the more wonderful of the two. He was then a young man, and France stood in need of a more energetic and regenerated government; but still, to establish it required unparalleled boldness, and a popularity, among a nation of thirty millions, which not more than two or three individuals ever obtained in the history of the world. Though France was divided by factions, she still boasted men of pre-eminent abilities and talents either at the head of powerful parties, or singly sufficient to have trampled down any ordinary usurper who should have dared to seize the helm of authority. Rœderer was eloquent, and a trusty patriot; Barras and Fouché possessed unlimited influence; added to which, there were a host of formidable politicians: Talleyrand had sagacity to guide a kingdom in ordinary circumstances; Moreau, Bernadotte, Augereau, and a variety of others, possessed high military fame; and Sieyes, cunning and reserved, whose talents were so esteemed by Mirabeau, that, during a mo-

mentous debate, he once declared the silence of Sieyes to be a national calamity. It was obvious, however, that all those men, who, in other circumstances, would have been primary claimants for supreme power, found their effulgence dimmed, and bowed their heads before the mighty influence of Bonaparte, from the moment it was supposed a change in the government was expected. He met them separately; heard their proposals; but committed himself to none of them. If he could be said to join anything like a party, it was that of Sieyes; but, until the moment he was prepared to strike the blow, he kept every one in suspense. Having matured his plans, he called them together on the 18th of Brumaire,* (9th and 10th of November,) and produced one of the most important revolutions ever recorded in history. His influence over those around him seemed equally electric and irresistible, whether it put in motion the metaphysics of Sieyes, or directed the military movement that dissolved the Council of Five Hundred.

The fact is, many weighty motives existed for effecting a change at the critical period in question, which might have operated upon the mind of Bonaparte, or any other chief who had the good of his country at heart. He found the government enfeebled and impotent, a prey to perpetual caprice and revolutions, divested of an army, and without the resources for procuring one. Public spirit had eva-

* During the French Revolution, the spirit of alteration induced those reformers to re-construct the kalendar, by re-baptising the names of the months as follow:—

	French Months.	*Signification.*	*English Months.*
Autumn	1. Vendemiaire	Vintage	Sept. 22.
	2. Brumaire	Foggy	Oct. 22.
	3. Frimaire	Frosty or sleety	Nov. 21.
Winter	4. Nivose	Snowy	Dec. 21.
	5. Pluviose	Rainy	Jan. 20.
	6. Ventose	Windy	Feb. 19.
Spring	7. Germinal	Springing or budding	March 21.
	8. Floreal	Flowery	April 20.
	9. Prairial	Hay Harvest	May 20.
Summer	10. Messidor	Corn Harvest	June 19.
	11. Thermidor	Hot	July 19.
	12. Fructidor	Fruit	August 18.

porated, and the people were in a state of civil warfare with one another; but that which most wounded the becoming pride of the warrior, was to find all the conquests he had acquired in Europe wrested from his country, and subjected to the severe requisitions of those very armies he had so frequently discomfited.

Let us now mark the reverse: by a blow equally illegal, but necessary, he boldly placed himself in possession of the supreme power; and, in six months, new modelled the constitution, revived national credit, re-animated public spirit, and, from all quarters, concentrated the abilities of men of talents and courage; subdued every civil insurrection; and, in six weeks, by gaining the battle of Marengo, re-conquered all those laurels which had been wrested from his grasp. In short, never was a campaign so well planned and so completely executed.

Those persons must know the character of Napoleon very imperfectly, who consider him only at the head of armies; since so superior and universal proved his genius, that he was able to acquit himself of the various functions of government with glory, shining equally as conspicuous in the cabinet as the field. In a word, he united in his own person the various talents and professions of the sword, the gown, and finance.

The Council of Ancients having transferred the sittings of the Legislative Body to St. Cloud, ordered the same to assemble there on the 19th Brumaire; General Bonaparte, whom they imagined wholly in their interest, being charged with the execution of a decree for the safety of the national representation.*

* The following curious account, not generally known, as appertaining to the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, we conceive will not be found uninteresting.

"It was after Bonaparte's return from Egypt that he began to fix my whole attention," says the writer. "Scarcely were we arrived at Paris, when I saw that he meditated some great project; every thing in his features expressed disquietude and ambition. On the 2d Brumaire, he gave a splendid dinner at Malmaison, at which were present persons of every class and description, General Murat and Lucien Bonaparte being among the number. After dinner, the whole com-

The law in question was decreed at eight o'clock; and, in half an hour, the state messenger, appointed bearer of the same, arrived at the house of Napoleon, and found the avenues crowded with officers of the garrison, adjutants of the National Guard, as well as generals, and surrounded by three regiments of cavalry. Napoleon had the folding doors opened; and his house being too small to contain so many persons, he came forward on the steps in front of the mansion, where he received the compliments of the officers, whom he harangued, telling them he relied upon their aid for the salvation of France. At the same time he gave his auditors to understand, that the Council of Ancients, under the authority of the constitution, had just conferred upon him the command of all the troops; that important mea-

pany retired into the drawing-room, where a very warm discussion took place. In about half an hour, Bonaparte and Roger Ducos left the room; the latter with a much more free and animated air than the General: they went into the garden, where they remained together for about twenty minutes. On a sudden, Madame Bonaparte's carriage came into the court; General Murat went out to receive her. She had not time to give him her hand, but jumped hastily from the carriage:—'Where is the General?' she said. 'I do not know; he went out just now with Roger; but M. Lucien is here.'—'Seek the General instantly; I must speak to him without delay.'—I told her he was in the garden; she ran thither hastily. I went and placed myself at a window, whence I could easily descend into the garden. I was not deceived in my expectations: Bonaparte no sooner perceived Madame, than he quitted Roger Ducos and came to meet her. They went together into a neighbouring walk; I saw them distinctly. Josephine spoke with eagerness; the General kept walking on; she stopped him several times. At length they turned towards the house. I quitted my post, and met them upon the steps.

"Madame Bonaparte held the left hand of her husband; her countenance was extremely animated,—there was in it I know not what, at once dignified and mild; it was a pleasing mixture of heroism and tenderness. Bonaparte was pale, and looked thoughtful, but his eyes were turned with complacency towards his wife: she would not accompany him into the drawing-room, but retired to her own apartment. Bonaparte called Roger Ducos, and both rejoined the company. A general movement was then made; the guests all re-ascended their carriages, and returned towards the capital; Lucien, Murat, and Bonaparte alone remained; Madame Bonaparte soon joined them,—they were then in the antechamber. Perceiving Murat—'How, general,' said she, 'still here!—You do not attend to it, sir,' she proceeded, turning towards her husband; 'the general ought to be at Paris.—To horse!—away instantly to the street of Varennes, or I go myself.' Murat smiled, but in four minutes he was in full gallop on his way to Paris; while the three who remained returned into the drawing-room."

sures were in agitation, designed to rescue the country from its alarming situation; that he relied upon their support and good will; and that he was at that moment going to mount his horse, in order to proceed to the Tuileries.

Enthusiasm being wound up to the highest pitch, all the officers drew their swords, promising their services and fidelity; when Napoleon turned to Lefevre, demanding whether he would remain with him, or return to the Directory; upon which Lefevre, powerfully affected, did not hesitate. Napoleon instantly mounted, and placed himself at the head of the generals and officers, attended by one thousand five hundred horse, whom he halted upon the Boulevard, at the corner of the street Mont Blanc. He then gave orders to the adjutants of the National Guard to return to their quarters and beat the *generale;* to communicate the decree they had just heard; and announce, that no orders whatsoever were to be observed, excepting such as should emanate from himself.

Napoleon then appeared at the bar of the Council of Ancients, attended by that brilliant escort. "You are the wisdom of the nation," said he; "at this crisis it appertains to you to point out such measures as may tend to save the country: I come, surrounded by all the generals, to promise you their support. I appoint General Lefevre my lieutenant; I will faithfully fulfil the task with which you have entrusted me: let us not look into the past for examples of what is now going on. Nothing in history resembles the close of the eighteenth century; and nothing in the eighteenth century resembles the present moment."

All the troops were mustered at the Tuileries, and Napoleon reviewed them, amidst the unanimous acclamations of citizens and soldiers. He then gave the command of the troops entrusted with the protection of the Legislative Body to General Lannes; and to General Murat the direction of those sent to St. Cloud.

He also deputed General Moreau to guard the Luxembourg; and, for that purpose, placed under his orders

five hundred men of the 86th regiment. But, a moment previous to setting off, those troops refused to obey, having no confidence in Moreau, who was not, they asserted, a patriot. Napoleon was, in consequence, obliged to harangue those troops, assuring them that the general would act uprightly. Moreau, it appears, had become suspected, through his conduct at a former period.

The intelligence of Napoleon's being at the Tuileries, and that he alone was to be obeyed, quickly spread throughout the capital: the people flew to the palace in crowds; some led by mere curiosity to behold so renowned a general, others prompted, from patriotic enthusiasm, to offer him their support. The following proclamation was everywhere posted:—

"Citizens! The Council of Ancients, the depository of the national wisdom, has just pronounced a decree; for which it has authority from the context of articles 102 and 103 of the act of the constitution: it imposes upon me the duty of taking measures for the safety of the national representation. The immediate removal of the members is necessary; the Legislative Body will then find itself in a condition to rescue the Republic from the danger into which the disorganisation of all branches of the administration is conducting us. At this important crisis it requires union and confidence. Rally round it: there is no other method of fixing the Republic upon the basis of civil liberty, internal happiness, victory, and peace."

To the soldiers he used the following language:—

"Soldiers! The special decree of the Council of Ancients is conformable to articles 102 and 103 of the constitutional act. It has confided to me the command of the city and army. I have accepted the same, in order to second the measures it is about to adopt, which are all in favour of the people. Two years has the Republic been ill governed; you have indulged in the hope that a period would be put to so many evils by my return. This event you have celebrated with an unanimity which imposes ob-

ligations upon me I am about to discharge; you will also discharge yours, and second your General with that energy, firmness, and fidelity, I have always found in you. Liberty, victory, and peace, will reinstate the French Republic in the rank it held in Europe, from which imbecility and treachery were alone capable of removing it."

Napoleon then sent an aide-de-camp to the guards of the Directory, for the purpose of communicating the decree, and enjoining its members to receive no order but from him. The guard sounded to horse, when the commanding officer consulted his soldiers, who answered by shouts of joy. At that precise moment, an order from the Directory, contrary to that issued by Napoleon, arrived; but the soldiers, obeying only the commands of the latter, marched to join him. Sieyes and Roger Ducos had continued since the morning at the Tuileries; and it has been said, that Barras, on seeing Sieyes mount his horse, ridiculed the awkwardness of an unpractised equestrian: he, however, little suspected whither they were going. Being shortly after apprised of the decree, he joined Gohier* and

* The following curious statement, explanatory of the affair of the 18th Brumaire, is, we conceive, of sufficient interest to merit the reader's attention.

"In the year IV. at the passage of the Mincio, Bonaparte was guilty, it is said, of some trifling injustice towards a young man who had been a fellow-student with him, and who then served under his orders. This offence the other never could pardon. I cannot say how it had come to his knowledge, that Bonaparte, with some others, was determined, at all hazards, to change the form of government! He, however, went to the director Gohier, and imparted to him his discoveries and suspicions. Gohier, perceiving that the matter wore a very serious aspect, sent to Moulins, desiring to speak with him immediately. Moulins was not at home, nor did he and Gohier meet till the next day. The latter then told him of the information he had received, when Moulins, in the utmost astonishment, desired to see the informer. He soon arrived, but was destitute of any documents to bring in support of his charge. Gohier hesitated, but Moulins carried his point, and it was decided that the General should be arrested on his way from Paris to Malmaison, where they knew he was to have a party to dinner that day. Unfortunately for them, that resolution was not adopted in the presence of him who had discovered the plot; he was left alone, locked up in another chamber.

"Gohier urged their communicating the intelligence to the other directors, in order that they might act in concert, but this Moulins opposed. 'One of our colleagues,' said he, 'is absent, and of the other two, one is the intimate friend of Bonaparte; the other, Barras, is his

Moulins, when they not only learned that the troops followed Napoleon, but found that even their own guards

patron; but for him, this Corsican had never been known. We have no occasion for the assistance of any one; away with forms, we are alone privy to the affair, let us alone act. Nothing is easier than to arrest the General; I know two men in the police, who, if supported by a dozen soldiers, will readily undertake the business; there is no cause for fear. The moment the General is made prisoner, he will experience the fate of all unsuccessful conspirators, his party will be annihilated.'

"The two directors went out together, and secured the persons to whom the execution of their project was to be entrusted. Thus far all was well, but when they returned to Gohier's house, the prisoner was no longer to be found in the room where he had been shut up. He, little satisfied with the conduct of the directors, conceived himself lost, and, taking advantage of their absence, escaped by the window. When the directors found he was gone: 'We are undone,' exclaimed Moulins, 'this fellow is a rascal, we are sold to our enemies, the conspiracy is a mere invention, a snare laid for us; they wanted to set the General, and, consequently, the army upon us. Let us haste and revoke our orders, if it be not too late.' In effect the orders were revoked; but one of the men, who was to have been employed in the arrest, had previously answered a friend, who proposed their going together to the theatre, 'I cannot; I am going this evening upon an expedition of great importance. It concerns, I believe, the arrest of some great personage.'

"That observation was repeated in a house where Madame Bonaparte happened to be, who, without any other clue, immediately conjectured that her husband might be the person alluded to. As a prudent wife, her attention was instantly directed to save him, if he was indeed the person intended. The guard of the Legislative Body she knew sided with him, and she secured some of the principal officers, without, however, saying in what she had occasion for them. She saw Colonel Perrin; I know not what she said to him, but he promised to send a company of grenadiers to Malmaison, if she would insure his having, subsequently, an order to that effect from General Murat. This she undertook, and the promise was faithfully performed; hence arose the visit of the company of grenadiers already mentioned as proceeding, on the 2d Brumaire, to Malmaison. That excellent wife had besides collected a number of her husband's friends at the house of a member of the Council of Ancients, in the street of Varennes, and it was thither General Murat hastened, to be in readiness to issue any new orders.

"While those precautions, to avert the apprehended danger of her husband, were taken by Madame Bonaparte, Moulins and Gohier did not remain inactive; they had the address to order a rich Hamburgher, who was at Paris on commercial business, to be arrested, under pretence that he had been suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the enemies of France. The affair was so well conducted, that, the same evening, Madame Bonaparte acknowledged she had been alarmed without reason. The most curious part of the transaction is, that both parties sincerely believed they had been deceived in their conjectures. It was not, indeed, till a long time after, that I was fully convinced of so curious a fact, as that an intention of arresting Bonaparte had existed in the minds of two of the directors, only a fortnight before his *triumph!*"

forsook them! Moulins then went to the Tuileries and tendered his resignation, as Sieyes and Roger Ducos had already done. Boutot, secretary of Barras, went to Napoleon, when the latter warmly expressed his anger at the peculations which had ruined the Republic, and insisted that Barras should resign. Boutot then gave in the resignation of Barras, and inquired of the General, in a low voice, what hope he (Barras) might entertain from him? "Tell that man," replied Bonaparte, "I will not see him again; and that I am well enabled to command due respect towards the authority with which I am entrusted." Then raising his voice, loud enough to be heard even in the antechamber, he thus continued to address the astonished secretary of Barras:—"What have you done," said he, "with the country I quitted so flourishing? I left you in peace, and found you at war: I left you victory, and find defeat: I left you conquest, and the enemy are passing our frontiers: I left you the treasures of Italy, and nothing remains but oppression and poverty. Where are the hundred thousand heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas! they are no more. This state of things cannot continue; in three years it will end in despotism; but we will have a Republic founded on the basis of civil liberty, equality, and political toleration."

Talleyrand then hastened to the ex-director, and related all that had transpired; soon after which, Barras removed to Gros-Bois, accompanied by a guard of honour of dragoons, and from that moment the Directory was dissolved, and Napoleon alone invested with the executive power of the Republic.

In the meantime, the Council of Five Hundred had assembled, under the presidency of Lucien. The constitution was explicit; the decree of the Council of Ancients was consistent with its privilege; there was no ground for objection. The Members of the Council, in passing through the streets of Paris and the Tuileries, learned the occur-

rences which were taking place, and witnessed the enthusiasm of the public. They were astonished and confounded at the ferment around them, but submitted to necessity, and adjourned their sittings to the following morning, the 19th, at St. Cloud.

At length, after nearly two days' delay, the members met and opened their sittings. M. Gaudine, ascending the tribune, painted in lively colours the dangers wherewith the country was threatened, and proposed thanks to the Council of Ancients, for the measures of public safety set on foot; and that they should be invited, by message, to explain their intentions more fully. At the same time, he proposed to appoint a committee of seven persons to make a report upon the state of the Republic. No sooner had the orator ceased, than he was violently hurled from the tribune, when the ferment became excessive.

Delbred required that the members should swear anew to maintain the constitution of the year III. Chenier, Lucien, Boulay, trembled, and the Chamber proceeded to the *appel nominal.*

During the calling over of the names, which lasted upwards of two hours, reports of what was passing were circulated throughout the capital, when the leaders of the Assembly, *du manège*, the *tricoteuses*, &c. hastened up. Jourdan and Augereau had kept out of the way, believing Napoleon lost, and made all haste to St. Cloud. Augereau, approaching Napoleon, said, "Well, here you are in a pretty situation!"—"Augereau," replied Napoleon, "remember Arcola; matters appeared much more desperate there. Take my advice, and remain quiet, if you would not fall a victim to this confusion. In half an hour, you will see what turn affairs will have taken."

The Assembly appeared to declare itself with so much unanimity, that no Deputy dared refuse to swear adhesion to the constitution; so that even Lucien himself was compelled to obey. Shouts, and cries of "Bravo!" were heard throughout the Chamber; the moment became criti-

cal, and many members, on taking the oath, added observations. All minds were in a state of suspense; the zealous became neuter; the timid deserted their posts. Not an instant was to be lost. Napoleon crossed the saloon of Mars, entered the Council of Ancients, and placed himself opposite to the President (at the bar). "You stand," said he, "upon a volcano; the Republic no longer possesses a government; the Directory is dissolved; factions are at work; the hour of decision is come. You have called in my arm, and the arms of my comrades, to the support of your wisdom: but the moments are precious; it is necessary to take an ostensible part. I know that Cæsar and Cromwell are talked of, as if this day could be compared with past times. No; I desire nothing but the safety of the Republic, and to maintain those resolutions which you are about to adopt. And you, grenadiers, whose caps I perceive at the door of this hall—speak! Have I ever deceived you? Did I ever forfeit my word, when in camp, in the midst of privations, I promised you victory and plenty; and when, at your head, I led you from conquest to conquest? Now say, was it for my own aggrandisement, or for the interest of the Republic?"

The grenadiers were electrified; and waving their caps and arms in the air, all seemed to say, "Yes, true, true; he always kept his word!"

Upon this a member (Linglet) rose, and exclaimed in a loud voice, "General, we applaud what you say; swear then, with us, obedience to the Constitution of the Year III., which alone can save the Republic."

The astonishment caused by those words produced a profound silence.

Napoleon recollected himself for a moment; and then proceeded emphatically:—"The Constitution of the Year III.!—you have it no longer; you violated it on the 18th of Fructidor, when the government infringed on the independence of the Legislative Body; you violated it on the 13th of Prairial, in the Year VII., when the Legislative

Body struck at the independence of the government; you violated it on the 22d of Floreal, when, by a sacrilegious decree, the government and the Legislative Body invaded the sovereignty of the people, by annulling the elections made by them. The constitution being violated, there must be a new compact, new guarantees."

The force of that harangue, and the energy of the General, brought over three-fourths of the Members of the Council, who rose to indicate their approbation. Cornudet and Regnier spoke powerfully to the same effect; when a member rose in opposition, who denounced the General, as the only conspirator against public liberty. Napoleon interrupted the orator, and declared that he was in the secret of every party,—that all despised the Constitution of the Year III.; that the only difference existing between them was, that some desired to have a moderate republic, in which the national interests and all property should be guaranteed; while others demanded a revolutionary government, as warranted by the dangers of the country. At the moment in question, Napoleon was informed that the *appel nominal* was terminated in the Council of Five Hundred, and that they were endeavouring to force the president, Lucien, to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. Napoleon immediately hastened to the Council, entered the Chamber with his hat off, and ordered the officers and soldiers who accompanied him to remain at the doors: he was desirous to present himself at the bar, to rally his party, which, although numerous, had lost all unity and resolution. But, to get at the bar, it was necessary to cross half the Chamber, the president's seat being at one of the wings. As Napoleon advanced, two or three hundred members suddenly rose, crying, "Death to the tyrant!" "Down with the dictator!"

Two grenadiers, who, by order of the General, had remained at the door, and reluctantly obeyed, saying, "You do not know them, they are capable of any thing!" rushed in, sabre in hand, overthrowing all who opposed their pas-

sage, in order to join their General, and cover him with their bodies. The other grenadiers then followed that example, and forced Napoleon out of the Chamber; and, in the confusion, one of them, named Thomé, was slightly wounded by the thrust of a dagger, and the clothes of another cut through.

The General descended into the court-yard, called the troops into a circle by beat of drum, mounted on horseback, and harangued them: "I was about," said he, "to point out to them the means of saving the Republic, and restoring our glory; they answered me with their daggers. It was thus they would have accomplished the wishes of the allied kings. What more could England have done? Soldiers, may I rely upon you?"

Unanimous acclamations followed the speech; when Napoleon instantly ordered a captain to proceed with ten men into the Chamber of the Council of Five Hundred, and liberate the president.

Lucien had just thrown off his robe. "Wretches," exclaimed he, "you insist that I should put out of the protection of the laws, my brother, the saviour of the country, him, whose very name causes kings to tremble! I lay aside the insignia of the popular magistracy; I offer myself in the tribune as the defender of him, whom you command me to immolate unheard."

Thus saying, he quitted the chair, and darted into the tribune. The officer of grenadiers then presented himself at the door of the Chamber, exclaiming, "*Vive la Republique!*" It was supposed that the troops were sending a deputation to express their devotion to the Councils, and the captain was received with a joyful expression of feeling. He availed himself of the misapprehension, approached the tribune, and secured the president, saying to him, in a low voice, "It is your brother's order." The grenadiers at the same time shouted, "Down with the assassins!"

Upon those exclamations the triumph of the members was converted into a gloomy silence, which testified the

dejection of the whole assembly. No opposition was offered to the departure of the president, who left the Chamber, rushed into the court-yard, mounted a horse, and cried out, in his stentorian voice, "General—and you soldiers—the President of the Council of Five Hundred proclaims to you, that factious men, with drawn daggers, have interrupted the deliberations of that assembly. He calls upon you to employ force against the disturbers. The Council of Five Hundred is dissolved."

"President," replied the General, "it shall be done."

He then ordered Murat into the Chamber, at the head of a detachment in close column; upon which Murat presented himself at the door, and summoned the Council to disperse, when shouts and vociferations followed. Colonel Moulins, aide-de-camp of Brune, who had just arrived from Holland, commanded the charge to be beaten: the order was given, and the troops marched forward to execute the same. The Chamber of the Council was still the seat of uproar, confusion, and anarchy: countless motions had succeeded each other, every one struggling to gain a precedency for his opinion; and the assembly was in its wildest state, when the sound of the *pas de charge* (the charge step) was heard. The clatter of the drums soon suspended that of the debate, and the surprised orators eagerly darted their looks towards the spot whence the unwelcome sound proceeded. The soldiers appeared, led by their officers, one of whom invited the deputies to clear the hall, when invectives and remonstrances were poured forth with the most vehement fury of utterance; but those weapons had lost their edge, the soldiers proved deaf to every thing but the orders they had received. The deputies then leaped out of the windows, and dispersed, leaving their gowns, caps, &c.; and in one moment the Chamber was empty, those members of the Council who had shewn most pertinacity, flying with the utmost precipitation to Paris.

The first imperfect intelligence of those events filled the metropolis with apprehensions; but no sooner were

the Parisians in possession of the whole fact, and its probable results, than they were overjoyed. The dissolution of the Directory appeared as tantamount to the subversion of jacobinism and anarchy, and they then cherished the hope of a new and better government, founded on principles of justice and humanity. The Council of Ancients, animated by the same desires, issued a decree to the following effect:—"In consideration of the retreat of the Council of Five Hundred, and the resignation of four of the Directory, the fifth, Gohier, being confined, a temporary executive commission of three members shall be appointed. The Legislature is adjourned to the first of Nivose (December 21st) when it will again assemble in Paris, without further delay. During the recess there will be an intermediate commission of the Council of Ancients, in order to protect the rights of the national representation; and the sitting is adjourned till nine o'clock on the evening of this day, when the Council shall proceed to the appointment of the Committee."

The Council of Five Hundred and that of the Ancients again assembled in their Chambers; but the former, from which the jacobins had withdrawn, then appeared of a very different complexion from that it had worn in the early part of the day. Lucien Bonaparte, its president, congratulated the members collected on the deliverance they had obtained from the dominion of demagogues and assassins; and the president proposed a resolution to the effect, "that General Bonaparte, the other generals and officers, as well as the troops, had deserved well of their country."

That resolution, carried without opposition, was succeeded by a proposal from Chasal, one of the deputies, that a committee of five should be appointed, to consider the propriety of forming a new government; upon which the President, mounting the tribune, pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the Republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government; and enlarged upon the

profligacy and incapacity of the Directory, on the defects of the constitution itself, and the necessity of a strong legislative power, capable of giving solidity to the state, and preventing the return of anarchy. The Council then decreed, that the Executive Directory no longer existed; that certain deputies, to the number of sixty-one, particularly in the sitting of that morning, were no longer members of the National Representation; that an Executive Consular Committee should be provisionally appointed, consisting of citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, ex-directors, and General Bonaparte, under the designation of Consuls of the French Republic; that they should be invested with the full powers of the Directory; that the two Councils should each name twenty-five Commissioners, charged to prepare the changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution, the objects of which were to consolidate and guarantee inviolate the sovereignty of the people.

That decree was instantly communicated to the Council of Ancients, by whom it was passed at midnight; on which the three Consuls, being summoned to the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, were thus addressed by the President:—

"Citizens! The greatest people upon earth entrust you with their destinies: within three months, public opinion will judge you. Domestic happiness, general liberty, the direction of the armies, and peace itself, are all entrusted to you. You must have courage and zeal to accept such an important trust, and high functions. But you are supported by the confidence of the nation and its armies; and it is well known to the legislature, that your souls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people."

The Consuls then took an oath to preserve liberty and equality, and proclamations, communicating the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire, were promulgated throughout all the departments of the Republic without delay. Thus terminated that military revolution without blood-

shed; Bonaparte and the army being founders of the new government; and the power obtained by the sword, the sword alone could destroy.

The three Consuls entered upon their functions the following day, at the palace of the Luxembourg; and the Legislative Commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. The repeal of the law imposing a forced loan, and the law of hostages, were the first objects of their attention: the one had ruined public credit, and the other lighted up the flames of civil war in the departments. Bonaparte succeeded in tranquillising La Vendée, rather by lenient than coercive measures; and, in all directions, regularity succeeded trouble and disorder. The list of the emigrants was finally closed, and the threat of proscription against the clergy, &c. lost much of its terror. Only eight days after that revolution, a decree was issued, whereby fifty-nine of the most furious and inveterate jacobins were condemned to banishment; thirty-seven to Guiana, and the rest to the Isle of Oleron:—but as such measure was merely intended to strike terror into the terrorists, they were only placed under the surveillance of the Minister of the Police. Many churches were restored to their primitive use, and exiled citizens recalled, among whom were Barthelemi, Carnot, and Pastoret. Lucien Bonaparte was constituted Minister of the Interior, and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

At length the fabric of a new government was completed by the Legislative Commission, and approved, on the 13th of December, by the Consuls and members of the Legislative Committee. The constitution was accordingly submitted to the suffrages of the public at large, and received the express and avowed assent of upwards of three millions of the people. On the 29th of December, the new constitution was proclaimed at Paris, with great solemnity; and the multitudes, by their acclamations, seemed to cherish a hope, that the new order of things would confer upon them the blessings of tranquillity, prosperity, and peace.

Charmed with novelty, the Parisians received the new constitution with delight; and viewed the pomp and splendour of the Consular government with surprise and self-complacency. They reasoned little, but hoped much. Bonaparte was their idol, and from him alone they expected every thing

CHAP. X.

Invasion of Italy proposed—Army of Reserve—Dispersion of the Chouans—M. Necker—Passage of Mount St. Bernard—Method of transporting Cannon, &c.—Bonaparte's Guide—Fort of Bard—Operations of the Army—Astonishment of General Melas—The French enter Milan—Proclamation to the Army of Reserve—Surrender of Genoa to the Austrians—Passage of the Po—Battles of Montebello and Marengo—General Dessaix—Napoleon's return to Paris—His Description of the Battle of Marengo—Letter from Louis XVIII. and Overtures made by the Count d'Artois—The Duchess de Guiche—Rupture of the Armistice—Negotiations and Political Intrigues—Insurrections in Italy—The Emperor Paul abandons the Coalition—Return of the French Emigrants.

THE year 1800 commenced with the execution of a project, so comprehensive in its extent, and so apparently improbable in its execution, that it was by no means surprising it should have been deemed romantic, even by those who had most cause to dread its reality.

This plan originated in the warlike and fertile brain of Napoleon, and was designed to stop the career of the Austrian General Melas, whose recent successes in Italy required some decisive check. It was proposed, by the First Consul, to fall upon the rear of Melas, carry off his magazines, parks, and hospitals, and, after cutting him off from Austria, force him to a battle. Such a comprehensive plan required celerity, profound secrecy, and great boldness; yet how was it possible to keep the movements of an army concealed from the numerous spies of England and Austria? The method, therefore, resorted to by the First Consul, was to divulge the whole himself, with such pub-

licity, that it should become an object of derision to the enemy, and make the whole appear but a plan to divert the Austrian army from the blockade of Genoa. The appointment of the French army of reserve was therefore declared, by messages to the Legislative Body and Senate, and decrees published in the newspapers, as well as by public intimations of every description. From those it appeared, that the point of concentration would be Dijon, wherefore the spies and scouts immediately directed their attention to that city, who found, at the beginning of April, a large staff without an army; though, in the course of a month, from five to six thousand conscripts and retired soldiers arrived, many of whom were maimed. A force of such a description naturally became an object of ridicule, and when the First Consul in person reviewed it, on the 6th of May, people were astonished to see no more than six or seven thousand men, who, for the most part, were not even clothed.

In the mean time, the real corps had been formed, and ready to march; La Vendée was tranquillised, and a final end put to the system of the Chouans, so that a considerable portion of the army of reserve had been drawn from that country. The park of artillery consisted of guns and waggons, sent piecemeal from various arsenals and fortresses; the most difficult thing having been to conceal the movement of the provisions indispensable for an army which had to cross barren mountains, where nothing could be procured; yet even that was managed.

On the 6th of May, the First Consul left Paris, and proceeded to Dijon. He arrived at Geneva on the 8th, when M. Necker, then in that city, was presented to him, who expressed his hopes of having once more the management of the French finances under his control, though he did not even know in what manner public business was conducted in regard to treasury bonds. The First Consul, however, was but indifferently pleased with M. Necker,

though the latter praised the military operations going on under his eyes.

On the 13th, Napoleon reviewed the real vanguard of the army of reserve at Lausanne, commanded by General Lannes, consisting of six old regiments of chosen troops, well clothed, and completely equipped and appointed. It moved directly afterwards upon St. Pierre; when the divisions followed *in echelons*, the whole forming an army of thirty-six thousand fighting men, with a park of forty pieces of artillery.

The passage of Mount St. Bernard was preferred by Napoleon to that of Mount Cenis; the difficulty, as regarded the former, lay in the ascent and descent, but it offered the advantage of leaving Turin to the right; and acting in a country more covered and less known. Still a speedy passage of the artillery seemed impossible. The cartridges and ammunition were deposited in cases, which, as well as the mountain forges, were carried by mules. The greatest difficulty was in getting the pieces themselves over; however, a number of trunks of trees, hollowed out for the reception of the guns, which were fastened into them by their trunnions, having been prepared, every piece, thus arranged, was dragged by soldiers. All those dispositions were made with so much promptitude, that the march of the artillery caused no delay. The troops made it a point of honour not to leave their guns in the rear; and one division, rather than abandon its artillery, chose to pass the night upon the summit of a mountain, in the midst of snow and excessive cold.

It has been said that Napoleon had his fortune to make at this period; but, at the moment of crossing Mount St. Bernard, he had fought twenty pitched battles, conquered Italy, dictated peace to Austria, only sixty miles distant from Vienna; negotiated, at Rastadt, with Count Cobentzel, for the surrender of the strong city of Mentz; raised nearly three hundred millions in contributions, which

had served to supply the army during two years, created the Cisalpine army, and even paid some of the offices of government in Paris. He had sent to the Museum three hundred *chef d'œuvres*, in statuary and painting; added to which, he had conquered Egypt, suppressed the factions at home, and totally eradicated the war in La Vendée.

On the 16th, Bonaparte slept at the convent of St. Maurice, and the whole army passed the St. Bernard on the 17th, Napoleon traversing the same in person on the 20th, seated on a mule, which had been recommended by one of the inhabitants of St. Pierre, as the most sure-footed animal throughout the country. Bonaparte's guide was a tall robust youth of twenty-two, who conversed freely, and with a confidence becoming his age, and the simplicity of the inhabitants of the mountains.

The First Consul remained an hour at the convent of the Hospitallers, and then performed the descent *à la ramasse*, which consists in sliding on a sort of sledge down an almost perpendicular glacier. The descent proved more difficult for the horses than the ascent; however, very few accidents happened. The monks also accommodated the men to the best of their ability; each soldier, as he passed, receiving a comfortable ration from those good fathers.

On the 17th, the vanguard reached Chatillon, where an Austrian corps, composed of from four to five thousand men, posted to defend the valley, was attacked and routed, and three guns and some hundreds of prisoners taken. Yet, while the French army flattered itself that every difficulty was overcome, the progress of the forces was suddenly checked by the cannon of fort Bard.

That obstacle proved more serious than Great St. Bernard itself: yet neither the one or the other retarded the march of the army. The Austrian officer, commanding the fort, despatched letter after letter to General Melas, informing him that he saw more than thirty thousand men, three or four thousand cavalry, and a numerous staff, attempting to pass on his right, by a path formed of steps in

the rock of Albaredo. He even suggested that it would be more than a month ere the French army would receive its artillery, or be able to trust itself upon the plain; but, after the surrender of the fort, the officers of the garrison were petrified, on learning that all the French artillery had passed by night, at thirty or forty toises from their ramparts. The fort of Bard surrendered on the 1st of June; and, during the interval from the 1st of May, Melas had been marching troops upon Turin, and strengthening the divisions in the Valley of Aosta and Mount Cenis; though, on the 22d, the latter post was taken by General Thurreau, having three thousand men under him; whose subsequent occupation, being a post between Susa and Turin, greatly alarmed Melas, and paralised his efforts.

Ivrea, occupied by five or six thousand Austrians, was soon after carried, together with its citadel, containing numerous magazines. On the 26th, the enemy having retired to Romano, in order to cover Turin, General Lannes attacked him in his position, overthrowing and driving him in disorder upon that city. The French advanced guard then took possession of Chivasso, where Bonaparte harangued the troops, and bestowed eulogiums upon them.

Preparations having been made by the French, as if intending to pass the Po, General Melas selected an officer who had the honour of knowing the First Consul, and sent him on a parley to the out-posts, when his surprise on finding him so near the Austrians was extreme.

On the 27th, General Murat passed the Sesia, and, on the 31st, Bonaparte moved rapidly upon the Tessino, where the Austrians had united to cover Milan, and the contest was brisk during the whole day. The French had no bridge, but crossed the river over four small boats, and, on the 2d of June, entered the city of Milan, and invested the citadel. Bonaparte, marching with the vanguard, proved one of the first who presented himself to the eyes of the astonished inhabitants, who had crowded

from all quarters, scarcely trusting their sight! It had been reported that Napoleon had died on the Red Sea, and that it was one of his brothers who commanded the army.

Between the 1st and 8th of June, the following proclamation was addressed to the army of reserve:—

"Soldiers! One of our departments was in the power of the enemy: consternation reigned over the whole of the South of France.

"The greater part of the territory of the Ligurians, the most faithful friends of the Republic, was invaded.

"The Cisalpine republic, annihilated by the last campaign, had become the sport of a ridiculous feudal domination.

"Soldiers! You march, and the French territory is already free! Consternation and dread are succeeded by joy and hope, throughout our country.

"You will restore liberty and independence to the people of Genoa, who will be for ever relieved from their eternal foes.

"You are in the capital of the Cisalpine.

"The enemy, panic-struck, only hopes to regain the frontiers. You have taken from them their stores, magazines, and reserve of artillery.

"The first act of the campaign is ended.

"You hear, daily, millions of men manifesting their gratitude towards you.

"But shall the violation of the French soil pass unpunished? Will you suffer those soldiers, who have carried terror into the bosoms of your families, to return to their fire-sides? You rush to arms.

"Well, then, march to meet them, oppose their retreat, snatch from them the laurels with which they have decked themselves, and thereby teach the world, that a malediction rests upon all madmen who dare insult the territory of the great nation.

"The result of our efforts will be *unclouded glory and solid peace.*

"The First Consul,

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

About this period, a despatch from the ministry at Vienna to General Melas was intercepted, containing some curious information, in regard to what it called "the *pretended* army of reserve;" and Melas was ordered to continue his operations in Provence vigorously. The minister hoped that Genoa would have capitulated, and the English army have arrived. It was also stated, that some commotions had taken place in Paris, which had obliged the First Consul to return hastily to that capital from Geneva!

However, amidst the most brilliant successes and the fairest hopes, it was the fate of the French army to learn that Genoa had actually capitulated, and that the Austrians who formed the blockade were proceeding, by forced marches, to join the army of Melas. Massena, who had thus surrendered, was strongly censured: however, Bonaparte then saw that he must solely rely upon his own strength, and that he would shortly have the entire management of the forces.

The enemy, encouraged by circumstances, sent a vanguard of from four to five thousand men, in order to attack that of the French, which had crossed the Po; but General Lannes soon routed them, and, at night, took up a position before the Austrian forces occupying Montebello and Casteggio, with about eighteen thousand men and Ott's grenadiers, the flower of the army.

Lannes being in position, and hourly expecting reinforcements, had no inducement to attack; but the Austrian general made a movement at day-break. The battle proved very bloody; and Lannes covered himself with glory, as the Austrians fought desperately; but Victor's division coming up about noon, the day was decided in favour of the French.

the enemy having lost three thousand killed and six thousand prisoners. On the 10th, 11th, and 12th, the First Consul remained in his position at Stradella, employing the time in concentrating his army, and securing his retreat by the construction of two bridges across the Po, which he fortified. The enemy's cavalry was formidable, and that of the French, as well as the artillery, much inferior in numbers: it was, therefore, dangerous to engage on the plain of Marengo. However, the issue demonstrated that there was no longer any choice; added to this, the chances of victory were wholly in favour of the Austrian army, which was very numerous. Previous to the battle, that occurred on the 14th, General Dessaix, who had returned from Egypt, arrived at head-quarters, with his aides-de-camp, Rapp and Savary, Dessaix burning to signalise himself. He longed to avenge the ill-treatment he had received from Admiral Keith at Leghorn; and Napoleon immediately gave him the command of the division of Boudet.

Under an impression that the Austrians were marching upon Genoa, Napoleon despatched Dessaix's division in form of a van-guard upon his extreme left; while Victor, arriving at Marengo, routed a rear-guard of four or five thousand Austrians, and made himself master of that village.

On the 14th, at break of day, the Austrians defiled by three bridges of the Bormida, and made a furious attack upon Marengo, when the resistance was kept up for a length of time. Bonaparte arrived on the field of battle at ten in the morning, between San Juliano and Marengo, the latter having been carried by the enemy. Victor's division, after a smart conflict, was thrown into the utmost disorder, and the plain left covered by French fugitives, many of whom exclaimed in dismay, "All is lost!"

The corps of General Lannes, a little in rear of the right of Marengo, was outflanked by the enemy; upon which Bonaparte sent his battalion of the cavalry guard, the best troops in the army, to station themselves at a distance of five hundred toises from Lannes, in order to keep

the enemy in check. The First Consul, in person, equally hastened, with the seventy-second demi-brigade, to assist Lannes. When the army perceived him in the centre of that immense plain, accompanied by two hundred horse grenadiers with their fur caps, their hopes of victory returned; and the fugitives were rallied upon San Juliano, in rear of the left of Lannes, who was effecting his retreat with admirable order and coolness. That corps occupied three hours in retiring three quarters of a league, completely exposed to the grape shot of eighty pieces of cannon; while, at the same time, by an inverse movement, St. Cyr advanced upon the extreme right, and turned the left of the enemy.

About three in the afternoon, the corps under Dessaix arrived; when the First Consul made him take a position on the road, in advance of San Juliano. Melas, thinking that victory had decided in his favour, being overcome by fatigue, repassed the bridges, and left to General Zach, the head of his staff, the task of pursuing the French. The First Consul then ordered General Dessaix to charge Zach's column of six thousand grenadiers; but, as he advanced at the head of two hundred troopers, he was shot through the heart by a ball, and fell dead at the very moment he had uttered the word to charge. That misfortune did not discourage the movement, as General Boudet easily inspired the soldiers with an ardent wish for instant revenge; and upon that occasion the ninth demi-brigade acquired the title of *Incomparable*. General Kellerman, at the same time, with eight hundred heavy horse, charged the Austrian column with great intrepidity; so that in less than half an hour six thousand grenadiers were broken, dispersed, and put to flight, General Zach and all his staff being made prisoners.

General Lannes immediately charged; while St. Cyr, stationed on the right, was much nearer than the enemy to the bridges upon the Bormida; so that the whole Austrian army was thrown into the most dreadful confusion. From

eight to ten thousand cavalry spread over the field, fearing least St. Cyr's division might attain the bridge before them, retreated at full gallop, overturning all they met in their way; in short, no one thought of any thing but flight! The pressure and confusion on the bridges became extreme; and such as remained at night upon the left bank were made prisoners.

In that desperate situation, General Melas resolved to give his troops the whole night to rally and repose themselves; availing himself of the Bormida on one side, and the citadel of Alessandria on the other; or, at any rate, to save his army by capitulating. Accordingly, on the 15th, at day-break, the Austrian general sent a flag of truce, which, soon after, led to a convention, whereby Genoa, and all the fortified places in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations, were surrendered; and the Austrian army obtained leave to retire behind Mantua, without being made prisoners of war. Thus was the conquest of the whole of Italy secured.

In consequence of such a change of affairs, General Suchet entered Genoa on the 24th, which was given up by Prince Hohenzollern, to the great regret of the English, whose van-guard, from Mahon, had arrived within sight of the port.

The First Consul, on the 17th, set out from Marengo for Milan; which place, as well as a great portion of Italy, had become the scene of the most animated rejoicings.

Although General Massena had been guilty of an error in embarking his troops at Genoa, instead of conducting them by land, it was considered he had uniformly displayed a marked character and the greatest energy. The First Consul, therefore, appointed him commander in chief of the army of Italy.

Many persons have ascribed the victory of Marengo entirely to Dessaix, asserting that Bonaparte was defeated, till the former came up and changed the fortune of the battle. An officer, who, in many points of view, was

not an admirer of Napoleon, has maintained a contrary opinion, and asserted, that Bonaparte's talents, as a general, were never rendered more conspicuous than during the battle of Marengo: he saved every thing by defending the narrow defile on the side of that village, till Dessaix arrived; and, perhaps, no other general in the world could have kept his men at the defile as he did, exposed, during the whole time, to a dreadful fire from the enemy. He was himself an example of intrepidity, which increased his personal influence to such a degree, that they remained firm as the rocks whereby they were surrounded; had it been otherwise, the corps of Dessaix would have come up in vain. That general's conduct, however, and the bravery of his troops, were above all praise; and it is no less a fact, that the appearance of victory in one or two parts of the extended field roused the courage of the Austrians to enthusiasm. They pressed forward to complete their triumph; when the consular guard, called "the wall of granite," met and resisted the shock. The eye of Bonaparte fixed the fortune of the day; he foresaw that the enemy, in the ardour of success, would extend his line too far; and what he had conjectured happened, recalling victory to her favourite banner. It was then Dessaix's division rushed amidst the triumphant foe, divided his ranks, and finally completed his ruin.

Thus ended that memorable day, darkness depriving both armies of the means of succouring the wounded, a great number of whom were left upon the field of battle. The Austrians and French then became brethren from sad necessity, drew near each other, and offered or sought mutual assistance. "The ensuing morning," says an eye-witness, "I entered the great court of Marengo, where I was struck with a sight so horrible, that I shudder at its recollection: more than three thousand French and Austrians, heaped one upon another, in the yard, granaries, stables, and out-houses, even to the very cellars and vaults, uttered the most heart-rending lamentations, cry-

ing out, by turns, for food, water, and the assistance of the surgeons. To add to the horrors of the scene, prisoners were brought in from every part, whose wants only served to increase the general misery."

The battle of Marengo was celebrated at Paris by a *fête*, on the 14th of July, which presented a singularly interesting spectacle, owing to the appearance of the "*wall of granite*," the members of which, just as the games were about to begin, marched into the field. The sight of those soldiers, covered with the dust of their march, embrowned with the sun, and bearing marks of warlike toil on their brows, formed a scene so truly affecting, that the populace could not be restrained by the guards from violating the limits, in order to take a nearer view of those interesting heroes. While the parade lasted, tolerable good order was preserved; but, when they marched away, after their presentation to the First Consul, mothers, sisters, and friends, rushed forward to embrace their sons and brothers as they passed; and, amidst that joy of tears, and the loud acclamations of the spectators, the whole order of the ceremony was disturbed, so that the efforts made to persuade the multitude to retire to their positions were useless, and the intended games were wisely deferred.

Napoleon's presence being necessary at Paris, he had arrived there on the 2d of July, in the middle of the night; and was received, on the following day, with every demonstration of joy. It is a curious fact, that Napoleon most religiously preserved the drab great coat which he wore during his passage over Mount St. Gothard, previous to the memorable battle of Marengo, being so much attached to that surtout, as frequently to wear it previous to decisive battles; and it was also in that very habiliment he is uniformly represented in the grand historical pictures painted by his order, to immortalize his most celebrated triumphs.

The following account of the battle of Marengo, and the military tactics preceding it, are extracted from a dis-

course delivered by Napoleon to the French National Institute, in August, 1800, when he presided over that assembly, having recently returned from Italy.

"The army of reserve, assembled at Dijon, afforded me the advantage of passing rapidly into Germany or Italy, and the season was favourable. The monks of St. Bernard assured me, that the snow had dissolved this year twenty days sooner than usual: they received our army, a little fatigued by the passage of the Alps, extremely well. I had pre-informed them of our arrival, and sent money, so that they furnished us with provisions and very good wine. The monks of St. Bernard constitute an order of great respectability; being one of those institutions which governments ought never to destroy, but protect and encourage by all the means in their power.

"I arrived in Italy, and found myself in the rear of the enemy, and master of all his magazines and equipages; I had obtained great advantages, but, once arrived at Stradella, I had a right to consider the campaign as finished. Had Genoa held out; I should have remained firm in my entrenched camp at Stradella, the strongest military position in Italy. I had five bridges over the Po, which rendered my communications easy with the divisions of Chabran, Lapeyre, Turreau, and Moncey; so that, if necessary, I could either summon them to my aid, if attacked, or aid them, in the event of the reverse proving the case. Melas, therefore, was forced, in order to be able to open his communications, to offer me battle, on a ground I myself had chosen; very much intersected, covered with wood, and favourable to my infantry, consequently the reverse for his cavalry; in short, I had the disposal of all my troops.

"The capture of Genoa changed the face of every thing; thenceforward the enemy possessed a sure retreat, and very strong positions, being also enabled either to retire upon Genoa, and defend himself there, deriving his provisions from the sea; or line the heights of Bobbio with artillery, and retreat, in spite of my efforts to oppose him,

into Placentia, regain Mantua and Peschiera, put himself in communication with Austria, and reduce me to an ordinary war. All my plan of the campaign would thus have been frustrated, when a great chance presented itself to my mind—I risked the event; set out from Milan, and traversed thirty-two leagues in seven hours; commanded the battle of Montebello, which we obtained, and that victory caused the enemy's retreat from Genoa. The conquest, however, weakened my army; I was obliged to leave two divisions on the other side of the Po, close the entrance to the states of Milan, which were not distant from me above three leagues, but would have required three days to traverse by the way of Placentia or Stradella. I had also another disadvantage to encounter; the country, from Montebello to Alessandria, is nothing but an immense plain, most advantageous for the Austrian cavalry; I nevertheless resolved to offer a pitched battle, because I was in an extraordinary situation, and risked little to gain much.

"Determined on the contest, I ordered an account of the effective strength of my army to be sent in, and found I had in all twenty-six thousand men; Melas having forty thousand, eighteen thousand of whom were cavalry. At two o'clock in the morning, I was informed that the Austrians had fallen on our advanced guard, and that our troops gave way, as the French do not like to be attacked. Our troops then fell back in disorder; some seeking safety in flight, while the enemy took many prisoners—we had retreated a league and a half. The generals of the advanced guard, Lasnes, Murat, and Berthier, sent courier after courier, acquainting me that their troops were put to flight, that they could not stop them, requesting support, and demanding that I should march with my reserve. I uniformly replied, 'Hold out as long as possible—if you cannot, fall back.' I perceived that the enemy had not yet employed his reserve; and, in such affairs, the great object is to compel the adversary to employ all his forces,

while you manage your own; and make him attack right and left, so long as you are not deceived, the grand difficulty being to urge him to employ his reserve. He had thirty-four thousand men against twenty thousand, who were in flight, and had only to pursue his advantage. I then repaired to the foremost line in an elegant uniform; attacked the foe myself with a demi-brigade, broke his order of battle, and pierced the line. Melas, who saw me at the head of the army, and his lines giving way, imagined I had arrived with the reserve, to reinforce the combat; when he advanced on that point with his own six thousand Hungarian grenadiers, the flower of the infantry, which corps filled up the vacancy, and attacked us in turn. Seeing that, I gave way; and, during a retreat of half a league exposed to their cannon, rallied all the army, reforming it in order of battle, and arrived near my reserve, composed of six thousand men, with fifteen pieces of artillery, and Dessaix for their general, that being my sheet-anchor; upon which I displayed, by an extremely rapid movement, the whole of my army. I then formed the two wings of Dessaix, and shewed them six thousand fresh troops. A tremendous discharge of artillery, and a desperate charge at the point of the bayonet, broke the Austrian line, and cut their two wings; when I ordered Kellermann to attack the enemy with eight hundred horse; and, as cavalry march quicker than infantry, they cut off from the rest of their army the six thousand Hungarian grenadiers, in sight of the Austrian cavalry, half a league distant, who required a quarter of an hour to come up; and, I have always observed, that *it is those quarters of an hour* which decide the fate of battles. Kellermann's troops forced the grenadiers towards our infantry, and they were instantly made prisoners. The Austrian cavalry then arrived, but our infantry was in line, its cannon in front; so that a fine discharge, and a barrier of bayonets, prevented their attack, and they retired somewhat in disorder. I instantly pressed them

with three regiments that had just joined me, which deployed; and, in striving to pass the bridge of the Bormida, that is very narrow, a great many Austrians were drowned in the river. They were then pursued till nightfall.

"I learned, after the battle, from several general officers (prisoners), that, in the midst of their success, they were not without inquietude, having a secret presentiment of defeat. During the combat, they questioned our prisoners, inquiring, 'Where is General Bonaparte?'—'He is in the rear,' they replied: and those Austrians who had before fought against me in Italy, and knew my custom to reserve myself for the end, exclaimed, 'Our day's work is not yet completed.'"

Shortly after the battle, Napoleon says that Louis XVIII. wrote him a letter, which was delivered by the Abbé Montesquiou, wherein he complained of his long delay in restoring him to the throne; that the happiness of France could never be complete without him; neither could the glory of the country be accomplished, unless by Bonaparte; that one was as necessary to its prosperity as the other; and concluded by desiring Napoleon to choose whatsoever he thought proper, provided he was restored to his throne. Napoleon sent him back a very handsome answer; wherein he stated his extreme sorrow for the misfortunes of himself and family; that he was ready to do every thing in his power to relieve them, and would interest himself in providing a suitable income for them; but that he must abandon the thought of ever returning to France in the light of a sovereign, as such a measure could not be effected without marching over the bodies of five hundred thousand Frenchmen.

The overtures made to Napoleon by the Count d'Artois possessed still more elegance and address. The bearer of those documents was the Duchess de Guiche, a lady whose personal graces and fascinating manners were extremely prepossessing. She procured access to Madame Bonaparte, and breakfasted with her at Malmaison. There,

conversation turning upon London, the emigrants, and the French princes, Madame de Guiche mentioned her having been at the house of the Count d'Artois, when some person inquired of him, what he intended to do for the First Consul, in the event of his restoring the Bourbons? upon which the Prince had replied: "I would immediately make him Grand Constable of the kingdom, and any thing else he might demand. Even that would not be enough: we would erect, on the Carrousel, a lofty and magnificent column, surmounted by a statue of Bonaparte crowning the Bourbons."

As soon as Napoleon entered the apartment, Josephine eagerly repeated what the Duchess had said. "And did not you reply," said her husband, "that the corpse of the First Consul would have been made the pedestal of the column?" The charming Duchess was still present; the beauty of her countenance, her eyes, and words, were directed to the success of her mission. She also observed, that her delight was so great, she did not know how she should be able to acknowledge the favour Madame Bonaparte had procured her, of seeing and hearing so distinguished a man, so magnanimous a hero. All, however, proved vain, as the Duchess received orders that very night to quit the French capital.

On the 28th of July, preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris, on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, which was immediately after ratified by the French government; but when the articles arrived at Vienna, the Emperor refused his acquiescence, unless Great Britain was comprehended in the negotiation. The armistice, however, previously agreed upon between France and Germany, was prolonged for forty-five days, Austria surrendering the fortresses of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt, to the French. That truce expired on the 1st of December, when General Moreau was attacked at Haag, by the Archduke John, and compelled to retire to Hohenlinden. There, however, fortune turned in favour of the French,

for, on that fatal day, ten thousand men were left on the field by the Austrians, with eighty pieces of cannon, and other trophies.

At no period of their history, not even in the early part of Maria Theresa's reign, was the situation of the Austrian monarchy in a more critical position. The French, after the great victory at Hohenlinden, had crossed the Inn and the Ipps, and arriving at Steyer, in Upper Austria, were within seventeen leagues of Vienna. The Gallo-Batavian army at the same time was advancing along the Danube. Macdonald, in possession of the mountains of the Tyrol, had the option of descending into Italy or Germany; while Brune, after taking fifteen thousand prisoners in twenty days, was ready to penetrate into the mountains of Carinthia.

The last armistice, like that which had preceded it, continued but a few weeks, and not extending to Italy, in the beginning of the succeeding year the imperial and French troops were again in motion. The French generals, acting upon the plans of the First Consul, were repeatedly victorious; and many battles fought, disadvantageous to the enemy, especially that of Pozzolo, in Italy. The siege of Peschiera was warmly followed up, and the place surrendered to General Chasseloup; while, in the course of a few weeks, the expedition of General Murat against the kingdom of Naples, was also followed by an armistice, when the submission of Roger Damas ensued, and the friendly reception of General Murat at Rome proved the consequence.

Much negotiation and political intrigue had been carried on during the latter end of 1800, when the Continent, weary of nine years' war, ardently sighed for peace. It was also known that part of Bonaparte's ambition consisted in becoming the pacificator of the country which had called him to the supreme magistrature. Austria, however, still found herself fettered by her engagements with

England; while the British Cabinet redoubled its efforts to fix the indecision of its ally, and effect the renewal of a war upon the Continent. By that alone she could ensure her preponderance in foreign councils, and the monopoly of the commerce of Europe. In the meantime, the Cabinet of Vienna thought proper to send Count St. Julien to Paris. That general officer, whose mission was for some time covered by a veil of mystery, was the bearer of an autograph letter from the Emperor Francis, in answer to one which the First Consul had addressed to him after the convention of Alessandria. The object of the Austrian agent seemed to be the regulating conditions for a general armistice; and Count St. Julien was also provided with full powers to enter into negotiations with Bonaparte. With that view, the First Consul proposed that the French should occupy all the fortresses of the west of Italy, commencing with Mantua; secondly, the acknowledgment of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics; and, lastly, the independence of Tuscany, excepting an indemnification, which should be agreed upon, for the loss sustained by the Grand Duke Ferdinand.

Those propositions had been previously communicated by the Austrian minister, Baron Thugut, to Lord Minto, the British ambassador at Vienna; whose opinion was, that they should be rejected, as contrary to the interests of the two powers. Still, considering the situation of Austria, the Cabinet of London thought proper to agree to the mission of Count St. Julien to Paris, and promised to send plenipotentiaries to act in concert with those of the Emperor, and treat with the First Consul. However, the preliminaries of peace with Austria were signed at Paris on the 28th of July, six days after the arrival of Count St. Julien, founded upon the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio; but the declaration made by England, of taking a part in the negotiations, having altered the intentions of the Austrian Cabinet, the Emperor Francis II. refused to

ratify those preliminaries; and Count St. Julien was disgraced for having signed them, under pretext that he had exceeded the full powers given him.

Bonaparte, finding his hope of concluding a separate peace with Austria frustrated, answered the note of Lord Minto, communicated by Baron Thugut, and charged M. Otto, the French commissary at London for the exchange of prisoners, to transmit a note, in which the First Consul proposed a *naval* armistice between the two powers; but Lord Grenville contrived to get rid of the embarrassment which that note occasioned, by declaring that the situation in which England found herself, was different from that of Austria. The proposition for a naval armistice was therefore rejected; and Lord Grenville demanded passports for the return of his brother, Thomas Grenville, whom the king had intended should proceed to the Congress of Luneville as a plenipotentiary.

During those negotiations, which both parties kept as secret as possible, hostile preparations were carrying on with the greatest activity. Austria had ordered a levy *en masse* in Hungary; the frontier of Upper Austria, and the right bank of the Inn, were covered with intrenchments, from Kuffstein to Passau; numerous reinforcements were sent to the armies, and corps of reserve formed in the rear. The English equally augmented their naval force; and many attempts were made upon the French coast, and in the Mediterranean.

The French, at the same time, in order to maintain their superiority upon the Continent, detached fifteen thousand men from the second army of reserve, into Switzerland, under the orders of General Macdonald, to connect themselves in such a manner with the armies of Italy and Germany, as to succour either, according to circumstances. In fact, by the month of September, France had more than two hundred thousand chosen troops in the field.

While those hostile corps were approaching each other in the heart of Germany, the First Consul authorised Ge-

neral Moreau to continue the armistice beyond the 10th of September, the day upon which it was to expire. Moreau accordingly took it upon himself to prolong the armistice till the 17th. The First Consul approved of the delay, but sent a telegraphic order to the General, to insist upon the ratification of the preliminaries, or commence hostilities immediately; authorising him, at the same time, to consent to a new armistice for a month, if the emperor would deliver up Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt, as pledges of his good faith. Austria, who only sought to gain time, agreed to this new proposal; and, by a convention entered into at Hohenlinden, the imperial army was to occupy the two banks of the Inn, and General Moreau to canton his troops upon the Iser, between the two armies, at a distance of three thousand toises from each; the line of demarcation being formed by a simple chain of advanced posts.

This convention of Hohenlinden, for the prolongation of the armistice, was officially announced at Paris on the anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, being the 1st Vendemiare, in the year IX, or the 22d of September, 1800, and was attended with all the solemnity of a republican *fête*. Lucien Bonaparte, as Minister of the Interior, in a speech made on that occasion, flattered the people with the hopes of a *maritime* armistice; and also gave them to understand, that a continental peace was on the point of being concluded.

But, while the belligerent powers were amusing the people with their pacific dispositions, fresh troubles, secretly fomented by England and Austria, plainly convinced the discerning few of the perfidy of both nations, or rather that of their ministers. The court of Naples, more than ever under British influence, in the midst of peace, was making extraordinary levies. Already had a corps of twelve thousand men advanced upon the Tronto, between Upper Abruzzo and the Marches of Ancona. Another Neapolitan corps, under Count Roger Damas, a French emigrant, had also entered the Roman States, seconded by

the intrigues carried on through the celebrated Cardinal Ruffo, in the capital of the Christian world.

In Piedmont, bands of insurgents were continually annoying the French corps cantoned under General Jourdan, then civil and military governor of Milan. Tuscany had become the theatre of scenes still more deplorable; there the Austrians had persuaded the peasantry to act in hostility towards the French, who continued their opposition till they were dispersed by General Monnier, in the month of October, when the taking of Arezzo by assault, and the slaughter made in that town, caused the Austrian party to retire to Ferrara, and leave the population of Tuscany under the yoke which it had contributed to impose upon them. According to instructions from Bonaparte, General Dupont ordered the confiscation of all merchandize belonging to the powers at war with France; when forty-six English vessels in the port of Leghorn, laden with grain and pulse, were considered as an excellent resource for an army on the point of commencing the campaign.

The prolongation of the armistice in Germany did not alleviate the hardships endured by the inhabitants from the presence of so many armies, every day consuming the produce of the country between the Rhine and the Inn; for, notwithstanding the strictest discipline, the people were in the greatest misery. In the course of one year, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, had furnished more than two millions in contributions; added to which, the most exorbitant requisitions were daily made, and the people did not receive the least consolation from the Austrian government, deaf to the complaints that were continually made. Such a truly deplorable situation had a natural tendency to relax the bonds of the German Confederation; and most of the Princes who composed it, finding themselves in a hopeless condition, sought an alliance with Bonaparte, and entered into separate treaties, without waiting the issue of the Emperor's negotiations at Luneville.

The influence of the First Consul was thus increasing from day to day; and, in order to weaken the coalition still more, he availed himself of an expedient calculated to detach Russia from the allies altogether. The Emperor Paul had, for more than a year, solicited the British Cabinet to consent to the exchange of Russian prisoners in France, for a similar number of French detained in England, the refusal of which had raised that sovereign's resentment to the highest pitch. Bonaparte, availing himself of that circumstance, collected between nine and ten thousand Russian prisoners in the northern departments of France, clothed them in their own uniforms, equipped and armed them, and then sent them home, without being exchanged. Paul, already seduced by the military reputation of Napoleon, was completely brought over by that seductive act of generosity, which, in the end, produced an alliance between them, that eventually occasioned the assassination of the unfortunate Paul.

The Congress at Luneville was opened on the 9th of November; when, as Bonaparte would not admit of an English plenipotentiary unless the proposed *naval* armistice was previously agreed upon, the negotiations were confined to an exchange of full powers, empty formalities, and useless protestations. In the interim, the forty-five days prescribed for the armistice, agreed on at Hohenlinden, having elapsed, Bonaparte sent couriers to the generals of the armies, to commence hostilities on the 26th of November.

Austria, the principal champion at the head of the struggle of the European monarchs against the First Consul, owing to the gold of England, had made such prodigious efforts, that she was once more in a situation to contend for victory; and the battle of Hohenlinden soon followed, in which the French, under Moreau, were, as usual, triumphant, and the Archduke John obliged to abandon all his intrenchments upon the Inn, and retire upon Alza. The battles that followed brought the French armies into Styria, within

a few leagues of Vienna; when the Austrian General Grune presented himself at head-quarters, with full powers to conclude another armistice! The Archduke also announced to the general in chief, that the Emperor of Austria was determined to make peace, with or without the consent of the allies. Moreau, who thought he had performed enough for his glory, disdained the empty honour of a triumphal entry into the capital of Austria, and therefore thought proper to suspend the march of his troops, and accede to the proposed armistice. However, in twenty-two days, the French army had gained forty leagues of ground; and the formidable lines of the Inn, the Salzbach, the Traun, and the Ens, had been passed without loss; while more than forty-five thousand imperialists killed and wounded, a hundred and forty field pieces, and a number of colours taken, rendered the moderation of the conquerors still more conspicuous.

For some time previous to the expiration of the year 1800, the return of the emigrants to France had been facilitated in various ways by the liberality of the First Consul; but, at the close of that year, their conspiracies gave the most unfavourable bias to such indulgence. We allude to the explosion of the infernal machine, on the evening of the 24th of December.

From the Journal of the Private Life of Napoleon it now appears that two infernal machines were constructed, and the contrivers of both discovered to Napoleon, who, with his usual policy, kept the history of the first a profound secret, not liking to divulge the numerous conspiracies of which he was the object.

The construction of the first of those instruments Bonaparte imputed to a hundred furious jacobins, the real authors of the scenes of September and the 10th of August. To accomplish their purpose of assassination, they had invented a fifteen or sixteen pound howitzer, which, on being thrown into the carriage, would explode by its own concussion. To render their object more sure, they pro-

posed to lay caltrops along part of the road, which would impede the carriage, and prevent the horses from moving. The man employed to lay down the caltrops, entertaining some suspicions, communicated his ideas to the police; when the conspirators were traced, and apprehended near the Jardin des Plantes, in the act of trying the effects of a machine, which made a terrible explosion. The First Consul did not give publicity to that event, but contented himself by imprisoning the criminals. He soon relaxed his orders for keeping them closely confined, and they were thus allowed to mingle with some royalists in the same prison, confined for having attempted to assassinate Napoleon by means of air guns. Those two parties formed an alliance; and the royalists transmitted to their friends, without the prison, the idea of the last infernal machine, which actually exploded on the 24th of December.

The account Napoleon gave of that event was, in substance, that, on the evening alluded to, he was much pressed to go to the Opera. He had been greatly occupied with business during the day, and, in the evening, found himself sleepy and tired. He therefore threw himself upon a sofa in his wife's room, and fell asleep: Josephine came down some time after, awoke him, and insisted he should go to the theatre, wishing him to do every thing to ingratiate himself with the people. Against his inclination, he got up, entered his carriage, accompanied by Lasnes and Bessieres, but was so drowsy, that he fell asleep in the coach, and so continued until the explosion took place; when he recollected experiencing a sensation, as if the vehicle had been raised up, and was passing through a great body of water. The contrivers were a man named St. Regent; Imolan, a monk, who afterwards went to America, and became a priest; and some others. They procured a cart and a barrel, resembling that with which water is supplied in the streets of Paris, with this exception, that the barrel was placed crossways. Imolan filled the same with gunpowder, and stationed the vehicle at the turning

of the street (St. Nicaise) through which the Consul's vehicle was to pass.

What saved Bonaparte was, his wife's carriage being similar in appearance, and as there was a guard of fifteen men to each, Imolan did not know in which carriage Bonaparte was seated; wherefore, to ascertain the fact, he stepped forward to look into the coach. One of the guards, a tall strong fellow, impatient and angry at seeing a man impede the way with his cart, and staring into the carriage, rode up and gave him a kick, crying out, "Get out of the way, *pekin*," which knocked him down. Before he could rise, the carriage had passed on a little, when Imolan, probably confused by the fall, and not perceiving the coach had passed, exploded his machine between the two vehicles. The horse of one of the guards was killed, and the rider wounded; several houses were overthrown, and about forty or fifty spectators, who were gazing to see the First Consul pass, were also killed or hurt. The police collected the remnants of the cart and machine, and invited all the workmen of Paris to come and inspect them; by which means they were recognised by several, as having been sold to two men, who, from their accent, were *Bas-Bretons*, natives of Lower Brittany; but nothing more could be ascertained.

Shortly after, the hackney coachmen, and others of that description, gave a great dinner in the Champs Elysées to Cæsar, Napoleon's coachman, thinking he had saved his master's life, by his skill and activity at the moment of the explosion, which was not the case, as he was inebriated on the evening in question. It was the guardsman who saved Bonaparte, by knocking Imolan down; it is, however, possible that the coachman assisted, in driving furiously round the corner, being intoxicated, and apprehensive of nothing. He was indeed so far gone, that he thought the explosion intended as a salute, fired in honour of his master's visit to the theatre. At the coachmen's dinner, they all took their bottle freely; when one of them, being drunk, said, "Cæsar, I

know the men who tried to blow the First Consul up the other day. In such a street, and such a house," naming them, "I saw, on that very day, a water-cart coming out of a passage, which arrested my attention, as I had never before seen one there. I observed the men and the horse, and should know them again." The minister of police was sent for; the man interrogated, and conducted to the house referred to, where the measure was found with which the conspirators had put the powder into the barrel, there being also a little of the powder scattered about. The master of the hotel, on being questioned, said there had been people there for some time, whom he took for smugglers: that, on the day in question, they had gone out with the cart, which he supposed contained a load of smuggled goods. He added, that they were *Bas-Bretons*, and that one of them appeared to give directions to the other two. A description of their persons being thus obtained, St. Regent and Carbon were taken, tried, and executed. An inspector of police having noticed the cart standing at the corner of the street for a length of time, had ordered the driver to move away, but he made some excuse, and said there was plenty of room; the inspector seeing what he thought a *water-cart*, with a miserable horse not worth twenty francs, did not suspect any lurking mischief.

The sensation excited by the shock of the explosion, Napoleon afterwards acknowledged, awoke him from a dream, in which he thought he was drowning in the Tagliamento, an event that must have left a very deep impression upon his mind. It was then some few years since he had passed that river, being in his carriage, during the night; when, although attended by a hundred men, armed with poles and torches, the vehicle was soon afloat, and he had for some time given himself up for lost. Thus, at the moment when he awoke on his way to the Opera, in the midst of that conflagration, the carriage being raised up, the passage of the Tagliamento came fresh to his memory. The illusion, however, was but short—"We are blown

up!" exclaimed the First Consul to Lasnes and Bessieres, who proposed that arrests should take place, but he advised them not to be too hasty, and arrived safe at the Opera, where he appeared as if nothing had happened.*

* In all the different conspiracies which were formed against the life and government of Napoleon, his conduct towards the conspirators was marked by great moderation, and even magnanimity. As instances of which, we have only to select the following:—

In the conspiracy of the *infernal machine*, one of the parties was found concealed in the house of a *ci-devant* lady abbess, to whose protection he had been recommended by Mademoiselle C———, a lady of good family, and sister to one who had been formerly an archbishop. This lady, on her examination, acknowledged that she had been influenced in her recommendation of the man to the lady abbess's protection by another person, but refused to reveal his name, as she would not, she said, criminate any one. She was, notwithstanding, discharged without any punishment; and the lady abbess was only sentenced to six months imprisonment.

In the conspiracy of Moreau, Pichegru, Georges, &c., when Moreau was arrested, warrants were also made out against his brother the tribune, and Frenieres, his secretary. When this was reported to the First Consul, he inquired whether the names of the two latter were included in the report of the Minister of Justice? and, on being answered in the negative, he ordered that the warrants should immediately be cancelled. "If," said he, "the question at present were one of those measures in which the safety of the nation was involved, and a vigorous stroke necessary, I would not hesitate what part to adopt;—the conspirator should be arrested, brought before a military commission, and executed on the spot:—but this is not one of those urgent cases; it is to be considered only as a criminal prosecution, according to the established forms, and I desire that all those forms may be strictly observed."

In a variety of instances, Bonaparte was so far from showing a vindictive spirit, that he rather displayed a placable and forbearing one. Rœderer, who once accused him of traitorous projects against the freedom of the country, was so far from finding himself on this account an object of his vengeance or persecution, that he was made a counsellor of state. Camus, who voted against the consulate for life being conferred upon Bonaparte, was, notwithstanding, promoted to the rank of senator: and Carnot, who voted against him, both upon that occasion and when he was elected Emperor, had his selection of any post of honour or emolument which he chose to fill, though, for a time, he declined all. It is generally believed that, even before he was employed by the Emperor, he was often consulted by him on military affairs; and that he never, on any occasion, refused his advice, when he considered his country as having a claim to it.

As a further proof of the lenity exerted by Napoleon at a subsequent period, when his power had attained its highest pitch of splendour, we will adduce the following instance of forbearance:—

On the 12th of March, 1811, the students of one of the Imperial Lyceums received for the subject of composition, the speech of M. de Fontanes to the Emperor, on his return from his last campaign against Austria. This speech, commencing with the words, "Sire, the University, &c." was, as usual, a tissue of eulogies from beginning to end. One of the young students, soon after he had taken down the sub-

Napoleon being asked, while at St. Helena, who the persons were that employed the contrivers of the infernal machine? He stated, they were employed by Count D***, and sent over by Pitt in English ships, being furnished with English money. "Although," added he, "your **** did not actually suborn them, they knew what they were going to execute, and furnished them with the means."—He did not believe that Louis XVIII. was privy to the transaction.

Previous to that event, a conspiracy, consisting of about fifty persons, most of whom had once been very much attached to Bonaparte, comprising officers in the army, men of science, painters, and sculptors, was formed against him. They were all stern republicans, their minds heated, each fancying himself a Brutus, and the Consul a tyrant, and another Cæsar. Among them was Arena, a countryman of Bonaparte's, who imagined, that by getting rid of him he should do a service to France. Ceracci,* another Corsican sculptor,

ject, instead of translating the proposed eulogy, quitted his form, went up to the professor, and delivered to him his note book, on which he had written the following lines of J. B. Rousseau:

"Et je pourrais forcer ma bouche
A louer un héros farouche,
Né pour le malheur des humains!"

which may be thus translated:—"*And can I force my lips to praise a ferocious hero, born for the misfortune of mankind!*"

We know not who it was that wished to sacrifice this young man; but it is not the less true that Napoleon was informed of the circumstance. "Has this youth any talents?" demanded he. "Does he promise to become a good soldier?" On assuring the Emperor that he was one of the ablest students of the class—"*Very well*," added Napoleon, "*let him give vent to his passion; I shall present him with a handsome epaulette, and he will one day become one of my best officers.*"

* About forty years ago, Ceracci, an Italian and a sculptor, resided near Cavendish-square, London, and was considered, by many of the best judges, as a young artist of great promise. Ceracci, however, did not find encouragement in this country, and went to reside at Vienna; where he stayed a short time, but was, on some account or other, ordered to quit the empire. He then proceeded to America, where he was noticed, and employed to purchase marble for a monument for which he had an order, and then took a voyage to Italy. Bonaparte happened to be in the same city at the time, and Ceracci obtained permission to make a model of his head, with which the General was so much pleased, that he told the sculptor, if he visited Paris he would endeavour to serve him. Ceracci went to that city, and afterwards repaid his countryman's kindness, by being a principal contriver of the plot to destroy him by the infernal machine; for which he was guillotined.

having determined to kill the First Consul, repaired to Paris from Milan, and, although he had sculptured one statue for him at the latter place, he solicited to have the honour of executing another; but his real intention was, to poniard Bonaparte while sitting for the same. This request was refused; and, Napoleon being then ignorant of the conspiracy, the denial saved his life.

Among those conspirators was a captain, who would not consent that Bonaparte should be killed; but, as he could not bring the rest over to his way of thinking, he gave information of their names and plans. The intention was to have assassinated Napoleon the first night he visited the theatre, while traversing the passage on his return. Every thing being arranged with the police, Napoleon went the same evening to the play, and actually passed through the conspirators, with some of whom he was personally acquainted, each armed with a poniard under his cloak. Shortly after his arrival they were seized, tried, and executed.

Lucien Bonaparte, during the present year (1800), was appointed Minister of the Interior; who, on the 14th of July, laid the first stone of the national column at Paris, intended to commemorate the chief epochas of the Revolution, and the new order of things under the benign influence of the First Consul. During the same year, Lucien, with the prefect of the Seine, also laid the foundation stone of a departmental column, sacred to liberty and war, and dedicated to the army.*

* In order to prove how far the armies of the Republic merited a column, as a recompence for their toils, we subjoin the following note, recapitulating the wonderful efforts of the French, during nine months of the reign of Republicanism:—The French army crossed the Rhine at Kehl, at Brisach, and at Basle—battle and victory of Memmingen—battle and victory of Biberach—taking of Hotenwield—passing of Mount St. Bernard and the Simplon—taking of Aoste, Bard, the Brunette, and Suza—defence of Genoa—first victory at the bridge of the Var—Nice retaken—the Austrians pursued and beaten in the defiles of the Maritime Alps—the frontiers delivered—triumphant entry into Milan—the taking of Bragantz and of Paria—capture of Cremona and Placentia—capitulation of the castle of Bard

The year 1800 terminated triumphantly for the French arms in Italy; General Lecourbe entering Steyer, in Carinthia, on the 25th of December; the Austrians having lost twelve thousand men killed, and eight thousand prisoners; the Mincio was also passed, and the city of Verona entered by General Brune, on the last day of the year.

CHAP. XI.

Armistice in Italy—Peace of Luneville—Proclamation by Bonaparte to the French people—Capture of the Hannibal, 74—Attacks upon the Boulogne Flotilla—Negotiations—Preliminaries of Peace—Treaty of Amiens—Elba—English Smugglers—Pacification with the Pope—The Concordat—Death of the Emperor Paul of Russia—Remarks on his Murderers—Northern Confederation broken up—Final Evacuation of Egypt—Napoleon's Observations—Dishonesty of a little Chinese—French Expedition to St. Domingo—Changes in the Government of Switzerland—German Indemnities, and Ecclesiastical Proceedings.

ALTHOUGH, long prior to the opening of the year, it was generally supposed that negotiations had been going on, yet, as the armistice concluded between General Moreau

and of Orsinovi—the taking of Bellenzona and Arona—passage of the Po—victory of Stradella, and, on the following day, the memorable triumph at Marengo—Geneva delivered—the cities and citadels of Turin, Alessandria, Tortona, Coni, Pizzigittone, Crema, Urbino, and the fortresses of Milan and Placentia, taken possession of—the English driven from the west; and La Vendée pacified—passage of the Danube—victory of Hochstedt, and that of Newbourg—the capture of Munich—the success of Aschaffenbourgh—the taking of Wurtzburgh and of Bamberg—Bohemia threatened—Fieldkirk, Lucenteiz, Glaris, Corra, and the whole of the Grisson country, subdued—the fortifications of Ulm, Ingoldstadt, and Philipsburg demolished—the victory of Hohenlinden—passage of the Inn and Salza forced—the entry into Austria—the passage of the Splugen—the taking of Trent—brigands of Arezzo chastised—the English driven from Leghorn—insurrection in Tuscany quelled—Florence taken possession of—the passage and victory of the Mincio—passage and victory of the Adige—Egypt preserved—battle and victory of Heliopolis—the Tyrol evacuated *in toto*—Peschiera and Ferrara and their fortresses, Ancona and its fortresses, Mantua and its citadel, delivered—the forts of Verona and Lugano, and the whole of the Venetian territory as far as the Tagliamento, fallen into the hands of the French.

The nine months thus enumerated of the history of the French Republic surpass, in splendour of achievement, all the victories obtained by Louis XIV. during his astonishing career of fifty years of glory!

and the Austrians did not extend to the armies of Italy, the hopes of peace were dubious, until the middle of January, 1801, when the French and Austrian commanders in Italy entered into a convention, whereby it was stipulated, that the Tyrol should be wholly evacuated by the Austrians, and the fortresses of Brannau and Wurtzburgh delivered up to the French. Those stipulations were soon followed by a new agreement at Trevisa, between Generals Brune and Bellegarde, by which a cessation of arms was obtained in Italy, on condition of surrendering Peschiera, Sermione, Verona, Legnano, Ferrara, and Ancona, all which places were afterwards ceded to the French.

On the 9th of February, the peace of Luneville, after so many delays, was actually signed; when its conditions were, that the left bank of the Rhine should be the boundary of the French Republic, which was to surrender up all claims to the territory on the right.

According to the treaty in question, the Austrian Netherlands were ceded in perpetuity to France, and with the left bank of the Rhine, the county of Falkenstein and Frickthal; the principal articles of the treaty of Campo Formio being at the same time confirmed. The interests of Europe would not admit that the Emperor of Germany should pass the Adige; and the independence of the Helvetic and Cisalpine Republics was admitted: in fact, the court of Vienna agreed to negotiate upon the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio. That treaty was ratified by all the contracting parties in less than a month, and by the diet of the empire some time after. The *fêtes*, whereby peace was celebrated throughout the French Republic, were preceded by the following proclamation:—

"Frenchmen! A glorious pacification has terminated the war upon the Continent, and your frontiers are extended to those limits intended them by nature. Nations long separated, rejoin you as brothers, increasing your territories, strength, and population, by one-sixth.

"This success is due to the courage of your warriors,

patience in their labours, and their love of liberty, their country, and a passion for glory; you equally owe it to the happy return of concord, and that union of interests and sentiments, that have more than once saved France from ruin. While you were divided, your enemies did not expect to conquer you; but this would have been effected by yourselves; and that power, which has triumphed over all their efforts, must have been crushed amidst the convulsions of discord and anarchy. Their hopes have been deceived. Let the remembrance of your domestic troubles for ever unite you, and the consciousness of your strength and greatness prevent base passions from tarnishing a name which has been consecrated to glory and immortality, by so many exploits!"

The interval between the peace of Luneville, and that of Amiens which followed, was occupied by such formidable preparations on the French coast opposite to England, that an attempt to cripple or destroy the armament at Boulogne was not thought unworthy the talents and enterprise of a Nelson.

Some success in the Mediterranean, in the capture of the Hannibal, a British seventy-four gun ship, in the harbour of Algesiras, was magnified, by the French, into a great victory: three of their ships, as they asserted, having beaten six of the English! Hence the destruction of the modern Carthage was fondly predicted, from the loss of her Hannibal.

The various attacks, however, upon Boulogne, may be ranked among the most interesting events of our naval campaign. The object was, to destroy the French flotilla of gun-boats, &c. in that harbour. On the 2d of August, Lord Nelson hoisted his flag, as Vice-Admiral of the Blue, on board the Medusa frigate. The daring spirit of that great commander could not remain contented with exertions merely defensive; and therefore, having selected a squadron of men of war, with frigates, and gun and bomb-vessels, he proceeded to the coast of France, for the pur-

pose of attacking our foes in their head-quarters at Boulogne. On the morning of the 4th, at day-break, he descried twenty-four vessels anchored in a line, in front of the town, when, the wind being favourable, he directed the bombs to weigh, and throw shells, but to avoid, as much as possible, annoying the town. Through their exertions, three flat-bottomed boats and a brig were sunk, and six barks driven on shore; five of which were afterwards floated, and with difficulty hauled into the Mole. During that attack, Lord Nelson was diligently employed in making observations; but the whole affair, as he observed, was of no further consequence, than to shew that the enemy could not, with impunity, issue from their port. The French, however, in their official accounts, gave another view of the transaction, vaunting the same as of the greatest magnitude. They boasted the vigour with which the fire of the English armament had been returned, and the eager solicitations of the soldiers to be allowed to board; an ardour which it would have been very difficult for them to gratify, if their own account was true, that the English kept at a distance of one thousand nine hundred fathoms, rather more than two miles, from the line of their division. The assailants, they said, threw nine hundred shells, without killing or wounding any one; and two boats, which had sustained some slight damage, were instantly refitted. This was the first engagement of the kind, they added, and perhaps the historian would find reason to notice it. The action, in itself unimportant, was rendered interesting to many, by being distinctly seen from the English coast, as well as the French shore, the hills on either side being crowded by spectators.

Our gallant admiral, anxious to derive advantage from the experience gained in that attack, and having made further preparations in Margate Roads, returned to Boulogne on the 15th of August, to attempt bringing off the flotilla, moored in front of that harbour. For this purpose, he formed four divisions of boats for boarding, under Cap-

tains Somerville, Cotgrave, Jones, and Parker, and a division of howitzer boats, under Captain Conn; each being charged to assail a particular portion of the enemy's force, and all support one another, when they put off half an hour before midnight, in silence, and in admirable order. Owing, however, to darkness, and the tide and half tide, the divisions separated, so that each commander was obliged to exert his own bravery and judgment, in endeavouring to execute his share of the general plan, without any certainty of the expected co-operation. Another circumstance, adverse to the success of this expedition, was, that the French were perfectly prepared. The appearance of Nelson off their shore, sufficiently indicated that some enterprise would be attempted; and the collection of boats around the admiral's and other ships, in the course of a few hours, convinced the enemy that an attack would be made without delay. To what extent they had carried their measures of precaution has not been ascertained; on one side it was asserted, that they had bound the flotilla with chains, linking the vessels to each other and the ground; this, however, the French positively denied, but admitted the having conveyed on board a large body of land forces, and that each vessel was protected by a strong netting, braced up her lower yards.

Captain Parker was the first to come into action, who attacked that portion of the flotilla assigned to him, at about half past twelve, running alongside a large brig, off the Mole Head, which wore the commodore's pendant; while a subdivision of the boats under his command pushed on to attack the vessels to the northward. The attempt to board was resisted by the netting already mentioned; and the assailants were received with a discharge of musketry from about two hundred soldiers, stationed on the gunwale of the brig, which threw Captain Parker, his officers, and two-thirds of the crew, on their backs into the boat, all being either killed or dangerously wounded. The flat-boat, in which Captain Parker was, being thus deprived

of officers and men, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, but was towed off. The subdivision despatched to the northward, commanded by Lieutenant Williams, was not more successful, nor did it suffer less severely; the whole boat's crew, in which the lieutenant was, being either killed or wounded.

Captain Somerville, while endeavouring to execute his share of the enterprise, found himself, on getting in shore, carried away by the rapidity of the tide, considerably to the eastward of the Bay of Boulogne; but having directed the boats to cast each other off, he was able to reach the flotilla a little before dawn of day. He then attacked and carried a brig, and cut her cables, but was prevented from towing her out, the hulk being secured by a chain. In that situation, exposed to a heavy fire of musketry and grape, which the French poured in from three luggers, and a brig within half pistol shot, regardless of the injury which must ensue to their own troops, Captain Somerville found himself obliged to quit the prize he could no longer hope to retain; and, as it was broad day, provide for his own safety, and that of his crew.

Captain Cotgrave, in conformity with Lord Nelson's orders, proceeded to attack the largest of the vessels which was to be attempted by his division; but the enemy having opened a brisk fire from the batteries, he considered it improper to await the advance of the heavy boats of his division, and, cutting the tow-rope, proceeded singly; when his boat was soon sunk by the number of shot that pierced her bottom, so that he with difficulty saved himself and crew in another vessel.

The fourth division could not get into action, being unable to bear up against the rapid tide, and the French howitzer boats. But endeavouring to support Captain Parker, after throwing about eight shells into the pier, they were soon carried from their station by the force of the current. In that attempt, therefore, valour, discipline, and conduct, were wasted in a pursuit, where, from the

first moment, hope did not shew the probability of success. Lord Nelson paid the homage of sympathetic gratitude to the individuals engaged, by declaring, in his official despatch, that he had never witnessed more determined and persevering courage, or greater zeal and ardent desire to distinguish themselves by an attack, than was manifested by all the persons under his command. The loss, which the brave Admiral acknowledged to have fallen far below his expectations, was forty-four killed, and one hundred and twenty-eight wounded; among the latter was Captain Parker, whom Lord Nelson honoured by the title of his gallant good friend, and able assistant: on his return to England, he suffered the amputation of a leg, but did not long survive that operation.

This failure was for some time magnified by the French into an affair of the utmost importance; as, from their accounts, it would have seemed that the disgrace at Copenhagen was obliterated, and Aboukir revenged. Rear-Admiral La Touche Treville did not indeed attach much credit to those rhodomontades; for, although his account of the engagement was intended to display his own prudence, conceal his losses, and exaggerate that of his opponents, it was written with good temper, and in language neither insolent or reproachful. He allowed that he had foreseen and prepared for the attack, by getting on board his flotilla, battalions of the 46th, 57th, and 108th regiments; and that he had been apprised of the approach of the English, by boats purposely stationed upon the look-out. He denied, however, that the land batteries fired, assigning as a reason that they must have killed friends and enemies without discrimination; he nevertheless allowed that all the gun-vessels of the advanced guard had been boarded, though without success. He calculated the loss of the English at between four and five hundred in killed and dangerously wounded, the beach being, as he said, every instant covered with carcases. To counterbalance that destruction, and after admitting the boarding of several ves-

sels, he represented the French to have had only ten killed and thirty wounded. Thus both sides strove to conceal its own loss, and magnify that of the opponent.

The official journal, in contradicting the accounts published by the British government, boasted that the English had been vanquished by the bayonets which had put them to flight in Holland. At the same time, surprise was expressed, that so much importance should be attached to this transaction, being nothing more than a simple skirmish, or affair of advanced guards.

The failure of that important expedition, however, was very grateful to the French people; while their government exhibited an unusual degree of moderation. It was owned, that the First Consul had long been aware, that neither his ports or fleets were secure from the enterprise and valour of the English seamen; and that he was no longer desirous of entrusting their safety to the chances of failure, or the caprices of fortune. Ambitious of every new species of glory, he then appeared desirous of the blessings of tranquillity, and adding to his martial renown the title of "The Pacificator of Europe."

Bonaparte, some years after, spoke in high terms of Lord Nelson, and attempted to palliate that only stigma upon his memory, the execution of Carracioli, the Neapolitan patriot, which he attributed entirely to his having been deceived by that wicked woman, Queen Caroline of Naples, through the means of Lady Hamilton, and to the influence which the latter had obtained over him.

The ground-work of this pacific disposition on the part of the French ruler was, that, for some time previous, an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments. Flags of truce and defiance were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same strait; so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded and blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet boats, and messengers of the courts of St. James and the Tuileries. At

length, Lord Hawkesbury, the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, after a long but secret correspondence with M. Otto, announced, on the 1st of October, the signature of preliminaries of peace between England on the one part, and Spain, France, and Holland, on the other. That intelligence diffused universal satisfaction throughout the kingdom; and, at the end of eleven days, the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the First Consul was conveyed from Paris to London, by Colonel Lauriston, who, with the French ambassador, was drawn through the streets in his carriage, by the populace of the city.

Amiens, the town assigned for the discussion of the definitive treaty, had been the residence for some months of the ministers of the respective powers. Marquis Cornwallis represented Great Britain; Joseph Bonaparte, Counsellor of State, appeared for France; M. Azzara for Spain; and M. Schimmelpennick on the part of Holland. It may be necessary here to state, that, by the preliminary articles on which the definitive treaty was grounded, his Britannic Majesty agreed to restore to the French Republic and her allies all possessions and colonies conquered by the British arms during the war, the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions of Ceylon excepted. It was further stipulated, that the port of the Cape of Good Hope should be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, was to be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, and restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem within three months; while, for the purpose of rendering that island completely independent of the two contracting parties, it was to continue under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be named in the definitive treaty. Egypt was also to be restored to the Sublime Porte; and the territories and possessions of his Most Faithful Majesty were likewise to be preserved entire, and the French forces evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English troops, in like manner, were to evacuate

Porto Ferrajo, and, generally speaking, all the ports and islands which they occupied in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic; and the Republic of the Seven Islands was to be acknowledged by the French Republic. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, were to be restored to the same state in which they had been previous to the war. And, finally, plenipotentiaries were named on either side, to repair to Amiens, for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

The conclusion of the first French revolutionary war, which had lasted the same number of years as the siege of Troy, proved a subject of exultation to the French nation. The Consul hastened to notify the welcome event to the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Conservative Senate; but, while congratulating those assemblies on the one hand, he endeavoured to impress all the countries of Europe with a persuasion, that it was the ambition of England alone that had so long contributed to disturb the tranquillity of mankind.

According to the treaty of peace between the King of Naples and the First Consul, the isle of Elba was to be given up to the French early in 1801: however, through the assistance of the English, who garrisoned Porto Ferrajo, that place held out till the month of October; but was upon the point of surrendering to the French general Wattrin, when news arrived of the signing of preliminaries of peace, according to which, the English were to evacuate all the ports occupied in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. The French commandant acknowledged the brave defence made by the enemy, in furnishing himself and his troops with all the necessaries in his power.

During the war thus ended, and especially towards its conclusion, the French government had been much assisted by English smugglers. Bonaparte confessed, that all the intelligence received from England was obtained through their means. "They," said he, "are terrible people,

and have courage and ability to do any thing for money. At first, they had a part of Dunkirk allotted them; but, on exceeding their limits, and insulting every body, they had a little camp for their sole occupation, near Gravelines. At one time there were more than five hundred of those desperadoes at Dunkirk, who conveyed newspapers and despatches from the French spies in London. They also landed spies from France, keeping them in their houses for some days, and then dispersing them over the country, or conveyed them back when required. The police had in pay a number of French emigrants, who gave constant information of the movements of the Vendean party, at the time the latter was preparing, by the assistance of Georges and others, to assassinate Napoleon. The police had also many English spies in its pay; some of high quality, among whom were many ladies. There was one in particular, of very exalted rank, who furnished considerable information, and was sometimes paid as high as three thousand pounds in one month."

As the French government was distressed for want of funds during the year 1801, being reduced to the necessity of threatening forced loans, the First Consul fixed his thoughts on vast plans of improvement and embellishment. Early in the year he made a journey to St. Quentin, for the purpose of reviving the expiring manufactures, and resuming the discontinued works of the canal of Languedoc. On that point he consulted his most eminent engineers; and purposed, by a canal which should join the river Yonne to the Saone, to form a complete internal navigation from the north to the south of the Republic; so that when the canals of St. Quentin and Burgundy should be finished, a boat from Amsterdam might (without discharging its cargo) arrive, through the interior, at Marseilles. Other magnificent projects were daily detailed—new bridges built, the public roads improved, fortresses erected, the Louvre completed, the national library placed in a new hall, and museums established in the fifteen principal cities of France.

Those, and many other grand projects, were resorted to, in order to occupy public attention, while bread was rising to an alarming price, insomuch, that even fear could not restrain the outcries of the people, or the vigilance of the police prevent some disturbances, in the capital.

Splendid shows were repeated, which seemed never to lose their effect; but that was only momentary, and the government manifested many signs of alarm. The new laws, however rigorous, were not considered sufficiently so, although their execution was unremitted and unlimited; the press, both in France and wheresoever her influence extended, was laid under arbitrary restraint; those who published pamphlets in Paris on the Concordat were arrested and imprisoned; and the Leyden Gazette was forcibly suppressed, because the editor had allowed himself to insert some observations on the various constitutions established in Holland. Yet rumours of discord and insurrection were still prevalent: the officers of the army of Germany loudly complained that their services were slighted, while all favours were lavished on those who had served in Italy and Egypt; and even Moreau himself, and not without reason, was regarded with jealousy and suspicion. The Consular guard was augmented to sixteen thousand men; and, in the midst of triumph, flattery, and uncontrolled power, the Chief appeared distrustful, while multitudes were dissatisfied.

In the course of the year, all the continental powers that had waged war against the French Republic were disposed for peace; and the Elector Palatine of Bavaria negotiated a treaty, whereby he renounced the duchies of Juliers, Deux-Ponts, and their dependencies.

But the policy of Napoleon was still more eminently displayed by a pacification with the Pope, which contributed very much to the tranquillity of France. By a convention with the sovereign Pontiff, ratified in September, 1801, the First Consul was not only acknowledged to possess all the privileges of the ancient monarchy, so far as concerned

public worship, but new and essential immunities were granted to him. His Holiness agreed to procure the resignation of the prelates who had adhered to the old establishment, and the chief magistrate was to nominate to such vacant sees. A new and more suitable form of prayer for the First Consul was introduced; while it was further stipulated, on the part of the Holy Father and his successors, that those who had acquired the alienated property of the church, should not be disturbed.

By the Concordat agreed to in the year ensuing, the apostolical and Roman faith was declared to be the religion of the state, and the Catholics were to pay one-tenth of their taxes to defray the expences of public worship. But its processions and ceremonies were to be subjected to the civil power, while the Chief Consul was to be declared head of the Gallican church, and the bishops and priests to make a solemn promise of fidelity.

An event, highly important in its consequences, took place in Russia, in the month of March of this year. The Emperor Paul I. at the age of forty-six years, was said to have died suddenly, in the night between the 23d and 24th of that month, at the precise moment when an English fleet, under Admirals Hyde Parker and Nelson, were passing the Sound, to chastise the northern powers, for presuming to defend the independence of European navigation. Such a sudden death created the astonishment of the confederated powers, at a moment when they seemed desirous of effecting a change in the policy of the new Czar of Russia; when Alexander solemnly declared that he would renounce the system adopted by his father with respect to England. Thus was dissolved the formidable confederation of the northern powers; leaving few other traces behind it but the destruction of the Danish fleet, on the 2d of April, and the sudden death of the Emperor Paul. Bonaparte, referring to this event when at St. Helena, said, "Alexander employs the murderers of his father. One of them, O****, is now his aide-de-camp. I must, however, do him the

justice to say, that, at Tilsit, he observed to me, I paid a great deal of attention to B****, and begged to know my reasons for it. I answered, because he is your general. '*Cependant*,' said he, '**** *c'est un vilain coquin. C'est lui qui a assassiné mon pere*, and policy alone has obliged me to employ him, although I wish him dead, and in a short time will send him about his business.'—Alexander and the King of Prussia," continued he, "dined with me every day, and, in order to pay a compliment to A******, it was my intention, on the day the conversation took place, to have asked B**** to dinner, as commander-in-chief of the army. This displeased A******, who, although he asked B**** to his own table, did not wish me to do so, because it would have raised him so high in the eyes of the Russians. Paul," continued he, "was murdered by B****, O****, P***, and others. A cossack, in whom Paul had confidence, used to sleep at his door. The conspirators came up and demanded entrance: this the cossack refusing, they fell upon him, and despatched him, after a desperate resistance. Paul, who was in bed, hearing the noise, got out, and endeavoured to escape to the Empress's apartments. Unluckily for himself, a day or two before, he, in his suspicions, had ordered the door of communication to be closed up. He then went and concealed himself in a press; in the meanwhile, the conspirators broke open the door, but, perceiving there was no one in the bed, they exclaimed, 'We are lost! he has escaped.' P***, feeling the bed-clothes, said, 'The nest is warm, the bird cannot be far off.' When they had found and dragged Paul out of his hiding-place, they presented him a paper, containing his abdication: he refused at first; but said he would abdicate, if they would release him. They then seized, knocked him down, and tried to suffocate him. Paul made a desperate resistance; when, fearful lest succour should arrive, B**** despatched him, by stamping his heel into his eyes, and thus beating his brains out, while the others

held him down. Paul, in his struggles for life, once got B****'s heel into his mouth, and tore away a piece of his skin."

Napoleon, after speaking of the plan agitated between himself and the Emperor Paul, for their mutual invasion of India, added, "since that time, your ministers have been *imbeciles* enough to get four provinces, which increased their territories beyond the mountains. The first year of war which you will wage with the Russians, they will wrest India from you."

A singular anecdote, relative to the assassination of Paul, is told of Marshal Vandamme. When made prisoner by the Russians, in 1813, he was led before Alexander, who reproached him in bitter terms with being a robber, a plunderer, and a murderer; adding, that no favour could be granted to such an execrable character. This was followed by an order that he should be sent to Siberia, while the other prisoners were marched to a more southern station. Vandamme replied with great coolness, "It may be, sire, that I am a robber and a plunderer; but at least I cannot reproach myself with having stained my hands with the blood of a father." Bonaparte related, that, upon another occasion, he had caused some reflections upon this murder to be read before Alexander, in prose and in verse.

The Northern Confederation had been excited by the intrigues of the First Consul; and it is but reasonable to conclude, that a maritime war was to have followed, forming part of a vast plan conceived by the French government, which only failed in consequence of the death of Paul. The pacific system adopted by Alexander put a stop to that project; yet, although that monarch refused to second Napoleon in his views, he did not abandon the cause of France, but offered his mediation to effect a general peace. Bonaparte, though thus disappointed, pretended to admire and enter into the spirit of moderation displayed by the new Emperor, and also took pains to ingratiate himself into his

good opinion, wherein he succeeded, and a treaty of peace was concluded at Paris between France and Russia, on the 8th of October, 1801.

This treaty between Russia and France was immediately followed by the signature of preliminaries of peace between the French Republic and the Ottoman Empire. During the negotiations that had been opened at Paris between M. Talleyrand and the ambassador from the Sultan, the First Consul had been duly informed of all the disasters successively experienced by his armies alternately engaged with a host of enemies, and deprived of all assistance from France; and, lastly, the surrender of Cairo by General Belliard, as well as the evacuation of the city of Alexandria, which put an end to all hope; when such was the address of Napoleon, that he obtained the signature of the Turkish envoy on the 9th of October, before the latter became acquainted with the last-mentioned event, which might have produced some effect upon the terms of the treaty. According to that agreement, the French troops were to evacuate Egypt immediately after the exchange of the ambassadors' full powers; prisoners of all ranks were to be set at liberty; and, with respect to commerce, the French were to be upon an equal footing with the most favoured nations, and all former treaties considered as renewed.

Napoleon, several years afterwards, reverting to his Egyptian expedition, observed, that the French had succeeded in making friends of the inhabitants in the course of a short time; so that a handful of Frenchmen was then sufficient to retain that fine country, after having performed prodigies in war and in politics. Their undertaking was altogether different from the Crusades. The Crusaders were innumerable, and hurried on by fanaticism. The French army, on the contrary, was very small; and the soldiers, at first, so little inclined to the enterprise, as to be frequently tempted to carry off the colours, and return

home. Still the territory supplied them with every thing at so cheap a rate, that Napoleon at one time indulged the idea of placing his troops on half-pay, for the purpose of laying the other half by for them. In fact, he imagined that he had acquired such an ascendancy over the soldiery, as to observe to Las Cases, that, by a simple order of the day, he could have converted the whole army to Mahometanism. The men would have treated it as a joke; the population would have been gratified, and the Christians of the East thought themselves gainers, and approved of the plan. The English, he said, were struck with consternation at seeing the French in possession of Egypt, as they exposed to Europe the certain means of wresting India from them. It was also his opinion, that if forty or fifty thousand families should succeed in establishing their industry, laws, and government in Egypt, India would be more effectually lost to the English by the commanding influence of circumstances, than by the force of arms.*

* Napoleon, according to Las Cases, remarked, that no army in the world was less adapted to undertake the expedition to Egypt than that which he was fated to conduct thither, namely, the army of Italy. It would be difficult, he said, to picture the distaste, discontent, melancholy, and despair, that predominated among the troops, on their first landing in that country. Bonaparte witnessed two dragoons issue from the ranks, and precipitate themselves into the Nile; nor was the discontent of the officers and generals less unequivocally pronounced. Notwithstanding those inauspicious appearances, Napoleon said, that, in regard to their enemies, the army never ceased to display itself, in every respect, worthy the reputation acquired on the soil of Italy. Those, above all, remarked the Emperor, known under the title of "The faction of *admirers of romantic sentiments*," could neither be led or governed: their minds were diseased; they spent the nights in contemplating the moon, there to trace the images, so idolized, of the beauties they had left beyond the ocean. At the head of those was Alexander Berthier, who, weak and without mental energy, when the general in chief was on the point of sailing from Toulon, journeyed night and day from Paris, to state, that he was in ill health, and, consequently, could not accompany him, although appointed to the post of chief of his staff. Bonaparte, however, paid no attention whatsoever to that statement; indeed, the applicant was no longer at the feet of the being, who had despatched him thither, to proffer the excuse in question; and the end was, his embarking with the rest of the expedition. However, on gaining Egypt, that general became a prey to sadness; insomuch as to be compelled to demand, and obtain permission to return to France. He, in conse-

It is certain, that, generally speaking, the natives were much taken with the gaiety, manners, and improvements of the French. Bonaparte had a carriage with six horses, unquestionably the first of the kind that had travelled over the Desart, and which very much surprised the Arabs.

Napoleon said, that he and the Emperor Paul had been on the best terms together. At the time of his murder, he had concerted a plan with him for an expedition to India, and he would certainly have prevailed upon him to carry it into execution. Paul corresponded with Napoleon very often, and at great length. His first communication was curious and original. "Citizen First Consul," said he, in a letter written with his own hand, "I do not discuss the merits of the rights of man; but, when a nation places at its head a citizen of distinguished talents,

quence, took leave of Napoleon; but, shortly after, returned, and, bursting into tears, said, that, after all, it was impossible he could dishonour himself, and therefore should not separate his existence from that of his General.

On another occasion, the Emperor, conversing with my authority at St. Helena, remarked, that the soil of France was much inferior to that of Egypt, which led to the consideration of other topics, among which was, the probable population of Egypt in ancient times, and what might have been that of the Israelites, if, during the short space of their captivity, they had increased to the enormous extent recorded in Scripture, &c. The Israelites, he remarked, had continued two hundred years in that country, during which, ten generations might be calculated; that they married young, and, above all, had had many children. Supposing, then, the offspring of Jacob, the twelve chiefs of the tribes, to have been married, and allowing, for a moment, that each had the same number of children, or six couple, and so in continuance, the tenth generation would enumerate two thousand four hundred and eighty millions, sixty-four thousand, seven hundred and four individuals. But the generation preceding the tenth, and even a part of that which went before, must also have been living at the same epoch; allowing which, what a terrifying list of numericals. Even, then, supposing a diminution of children on the most ample scale, together with mortalities, accidents, epidemics, &c. &c. there would still remain a total, according to the assertion of Moses, which no calculation could disprove. On another occasion, the Emperor, having perused some pages of Joinville's Account of the Expedition to Egypt by Saint Louis, drew an analysis of the faults committed by that monarch, as well as the plans he pursued, compared with those he had himself adopted; whence he was led to this conclusion, that, in the event of his having acted in a similar manner to Saint Louis, he must infallibly have encountered the same destiny.

and worthy esteem, it has a government; and France has henceforth one, in my eyes."

Napoleon, when in Syria, noticed the thievery and impudence of a little Chinese, who officiated as one of his servants: he was a deformed dwarf, whom Josephine had taken a fancy to at Paris, and was generally placed behind her carriage. She took him to Italy; but his constant habit of pilfering made her desirous of getting rid of him. It was on that account he was destined to accompany the Egyptian expedition, being then half way on his journey homeward. This little monster was entrusted with the care of the Emperor's wine-cellar; and, after Napoleon had crossed the Desart to Syria, it was found he had sold, at a very low price, two thousand bottles of delicious claret. He had conceived Napoleon would never return; but the robbery was so glaring, he was forced to confess, and Napoleon strenuously urged to have him hanged; but he refused, as in justice he ought to have done the same by those knaves in embroidered clothes, who had knowingly bought and drank the wine. He therefore contented himself by discharging the dwarf, whom he sent to Suez, where he was at liberty to act as he pleased.

On the 14th of December, the ill-advised expedition against the blacks at St. Domingo sailed from France, under Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, consisting of twenty-five ships of war, &c. having on board twenty-five thousand men, commanded by General Leclerc, brother-in-law to the First Consul. The result of that armament, and the fate of the black chief Toussaint, are too well known. It is but justice to add, that the sending the force in question to St. Domingo was feelingly regretted by Napoleon during his exile, having confessed that his neglect to declare St. Domingo free, and acknowledge the black government, was a great oversight. He might also have been sensibly touched by the fate of Toussaint and his family; but he remarked, that, after the peace of Amiens, he had been

continually beset with applications from the proprietors of estates in that colony, and by French merchants and others, so that he was obliged to comply with their solicitations.

The First Consul, observing that Switzerland had, for two years past, been a prey to different factions, and that the ancient constitution of the Swiss, the first model of a free government in Europe, had been replaced by the attempts of several factions, each more monstrous than its predecessor, excited two members of the Helvetic Directory, M. M. Dolder and Savary, to bring about a revolution of the same kind as that of the 18th Brumaire in France, in 1795. The hall of the sittings of the Swiss Legislative Body was accordingly surrounded, and the two dictators announced that the assembly was dissolved; and farther, the constitution, as it then stood, was declared null and void. A provisional senate was, in consequence, organized, consisting of twenty-five members, who were to co-operate with M. M. Dolder and Savary in settling a new form of government for Helvetia. In a letter addressed to the French envoy, M. Verninac, they declared, the sole object of that political movement was to second the wishes of the people of Switzerland, in whose welfare the First Consul of France had condescended to take a lively interest, and to open for them a way to that moderation and wisdom, whereby France had been enabled to ensure her tranquillity at home, and her prosperity abroad. However, no sooner had the French troops been withdrawn from the democratic cantons, than the inhabitants rose in arms; and, obtaining possession of the cities of Zurich, Berne, and Fribourg, appointed Aloys Reding, a man of commanding talents, chief of the insurrection.

Much negotiation ensued; but the most unanswerable reply to all the remonstrances of the divided Swiss, was found in the introduction of a French army of thirty thousand men, under General Ney, into the Swiss territory. A diet, formed at Schwitz by the insurgents, then dissolved itself by its own act. In the meantime, the confidential

agent of the Swiss patriots applied, in the most urgent terms, to the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian ambassadors at Paris, soliciting them jointly to intercede with the First Consul, in order to avert the intended change; but not one of those ministers would admit him to an audience. He, however, met with a more favourable reception from Mr. Merry, the British resident, who sent Mr. Moore to Switzerland, when, finding the people without arms, ammunition, stores, or money, his mission, of course, failed.

On the 10th of December, Bonaparte communicated his plan of a government to fifty-six Swiss deputies, and to that code it was in vain to offer any opposition: the Helvetic troops then passed into the service of France; and the Landamman, Louis d'Aufry, issued a proclamation, informing them, that they were received into the armies of the First Consul, under whose paternal care they would forget their past sufferings. An address of thanks was also voted by the Diet to Bonaparte, upon the ground "that he had restored to them their ancient constitution, the only one adapted to their wants, or consistent with the wishes of the people."

The daily extension of the power of France was not viewed by the Emperor of Germany without serious apprehension; and, though the seventh article of the treaty of Luneville bound the imperial cabinet to admit the German indemnities, and the secularization of several of the ecclesiastical sovereignties, the government was nevertheless extremely averse to the prosecution of that unpleasant business.

In order to bring this complex affair to some decisive termination, the Emperor Alexander, it is supposed, was solicited to take an active part, conjointly with France, in the mediation of existing differences. Nothing, however, was effectually done, until the 17th of July, 1801, when the Emperor of Germany transmitted a rescript to the Diet of Ratisbon, stating, that he found the parties principally interested had applied to Russia and France, and solicited

the mediation of those powers, in order to obtain the indemnities of which they were in expectation: that Russia had proposed to open negotiations at Paris, in February, 1802; that soon after a convention was concluded between France and Russia, *without* the participation of his Imperial Majesty, and that he was then desired to direct the definitive arrangement so begun, according to the constitution of the empire. The Emperor, seeing his authority on the point of being wrested from him, found it necessary to submit; but obtained terms for his brother, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, more advantageous than those originally projected. According to the plan of the indemnities, the Elector of Mentz obtained the cities of Ratisbon and Wetzlar; the Princes of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse Cassel, were made Electors; the King of Great Britain accepted the cession of the Bishopric of Osnaburg in perpetuity, as a compensation for Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter; and the Prince of Orange, for the surrender of the Stadtholder, and other claims and possessions in Holland and Belgium, received the Bishoprics of Fuld and Corvey, and the city of Dortmund.*

* The French fête, in honour of the peace of 1801, took place on the 9th of November, at Paris, with great brilliancy and eclat. On the Pont Neuf was raised a magnificent triumphal arch. Opposite to the port of St. Nicholas was a temple dedicated to Commerce, built on boats tied together and boarded over; fire-works being let off from barks placed by the side of the temple. The arches on the Pont Neuf were covered with circular frames, loaded with variegated lamps; and the elegant baths of Vigier gave to that illumination a very picturesque effect. Farther on appeared the Altar of Invalides, at the gate of which had been raised a triumphal arch, decorated by antique crowns. From the basement was hung a globe, bespangled with stars; and a frame, placed above the key-stone of the arch, exhibited, in letters of fire, of prodigious dimensions, the name of *Bonaparte*, four pyramids being displayed along the front. Near the *Place de Concorde* an immense theatre was constructed, on which was elevated the Temple of Peace, supported by ninety-four columns of the Ionic order, disposed in a right angle of ten to sixteen. Two other temples, on a smaller scale, were also erected near that of Peace. On both sides of the grand alley of the Tuileries were raised arcades, with sub-basements; and the octagonal bason illuminated in all its circumference. On the morning of the fête, an appropriate proclamation was issued by the Chief Consul, in honour of whom a medal-

Thus the influence of France rose predominant, even at the Diet of Ratisbon; and in consequence of the abolition of the two ecclesiastical Electorates of Treves and Cologne, the constitution of Germany suffered a more serious infraction than that effected after the thirty years' war, by the treaty of Westphalia.

CHAP. XII.

Assembly of the Consulta at Lyons—Ambition of Bonaparte—Speech delivered by him to the Cisalpine Deputies—Reconciliation with Melzi, and return to Paris—Negotiations with the British Cabinet—Treaty of Amiens—Bonaparte's Character of Marquis Cornwallis—Napoleon assumes the title of Grand Pacificator—Remarks on the Conduct of Mr. Pitt—Treaty with Spain—Effects of Bonaparte's Elevation—Proscribed Persons—Napoleon voted Consul for Life—New Constitution of the Legislative Body—Appointment of Second and Third Consuls—The Legion of Honour, and exaltation of the Senate—Concordat with the Pope—Anecdote of his Holiness—Enemies of Bonaparte increased—His power of Persuasion—Paris visited by Mr. Fox, and his Reception—Invectives against English Newspapers, and French Emigrant Bishops, &c. in the Island of Jersey—Piedmont annexed to France—Complaints against French Troops in Holland, and of the English in Egypt—Concluding Reflections.

One of the first public acts of the year 1802, tending to aggrandise the First Consul, was the assembling of the Grand Consulta of the Cisalpine republic at Lyons, where a new constitution was hastily formed, and the name changed from the Cisalpine to that of the Italian republic.

The ambition of Bonaparte was doubtless the grand stimulus on that occasion. The independence of the Cisalpine republic had formed an express article in the treaty of Luneville; but, even pending the consequent negotiations, the First Consul set off for Lyons, on the 9th

lion was struck, bearing his head, inscribed *An.* ix, 1801, *Bonaparte Consul de la Rep. Fran.*; and on the reverse a globe, with the rays of the sun shining upon that part of the Continent in which France is situated, and a heavy cloud hovering over the horizon of Great Britain; the motto—*Bonheur au Continent, Paix de Luneville.*

of January, to meet the Cisalpine deputies whom he had summoned, accompanied by Josephine, M. Chaptal, minister of the interior, and other persons appertaining to his court; and although he entered Lyons at ten o'clock on the night of the 11th, he was received with great parade, being met by a guard of honour, formed of young men of the best families. As Bonaparte dreaded the loss of the influence he had acquired in Italy, which might probably conduce to the return of the Austrian government, he resolved upon framing the code of the Cisalpine republic in such a manner, that it should always be dependent upon France, or rather upon himself. The provisional government he had established at Milan, at his instigation passed a decree, appointing the convocation of an extraordinary assembly at Lyons, charged with forming new bases for the Cisalpine republic, under the auspices, and in the presence of the first magistrate of the French republic. Yet, although it appeared ridiculous to assemble the representatives of a nation on any other soil than their own, to deliberate upon the formation of a constitution, such was the enthusiasm with which Bonaparte had inspired them, that several of the most considerable persons among the Cisalpines contended for the honour of forming a part of that *Consulta*, or constituent assembly, consisting of four hundred and fifty-two members.

Napoleon appeared at the first sitting, in a tribune placed opposite to the chair of the president, ornamented with trophies of arms, commemorating his victories obtained in Italy and Egypt; the Tyber and the Nile were displayed at the feet of the conqueror, and above him a heaven without clouds. A committee of thirty-five members, appointed by scrutiny, presented to the assembly the project of a constitution, which was adopted almost without discussion. That precipitate act established a legislative corps, a council of state, and a president of the Republic, in whom alone the executive power should be vested. In communicating this project to the assembly, the committee announced, that cir-

cumstances appeared too alarming to permit the new state to exist without foreign aid; they consequently thought it necessary to request Gen. Bonaparte would so far honour the Cisalpine republic, as to continue to govern by associating it with the direction of affairs in France, until it should be acknowledged by the other European powers. Bonaparte, unwilling to refuse a situation, which, by his intrigues, he had chosen for himself, proceeded in great splendour to the Consulta, on the 26th of January, where he delivered a speech in Italian, from which we extract the following remarkable passages:—

"The Cisalpine republic, acknowledged since the peace of Campo Formio, has already experienced many vicissitudes; and the last efforts for a constitution had no prosperous termination. Invaded by the armies of the enemy, its existence appeared no longer probable, when the French people, for the second time, drove the foe from your territory. Since that period, every attempt has been made to dismember you; but the protection of France has preserved your independence. You have been acknowledged at Luneville, and increased by a fifth. You are more powerful, more consolidated, and enjoy more hopes. You have furnished me with the documents necessary for the fulfilment of the noble task my duty imposed upon me, as first magistrate of the French people, and as the man who contributed most to your establishment as an embodied nation.

"The choice I have made of those who are to fill the places of your principal magistrates, has been independent of every idea of party or local considerations. As regards a president, I have found no person among you who has claims sufficiently urgent upon public opinion, who is independent of the spirit of locality, or who has rendered sufficient services to the country, to induce me to confide in him such a trust. I am strongly penetrated by the *proces verbal* you have communicated to me by your committee, wherein the interior and exterior circumstances of your country are analysed with equal truth and accuracy. I

comply with your wishes. So long as times and circumstances will permit, I shall pay particular attention to your affairs."

At the conclusion of the discourse, frequently interrupted by the acclamations of the auditors, they proceeded to the solemn reading of the Constitutional Act of the Cisalpine republic; when all the members, as it were, rose spontaneously, demanding that the word *Italian* should be substituted for that of *Cisalpine*, as more conformable to the true genius and hopes of the nation. Bonaparte assented to the request, and the important change was immediately proclaimed, as were the names of those of the vice-president, and other superior magistrates appointed to govern the Republic under Bonaparte's direction. Melzi was named vice-president; Guicciardi, secretary of state; and Spannochi, grand judge; and, in order that the day might terminate with something like feeling, as well as solemnity, Bonaparte invited the Ex-Count Melzi to take a seat beside him; who embraced the president, when the assembly was visibly affected. Melzi was the descendant of a noble family, and one of the most considerable personages in the ancient Duchy of Milan, having always been a strenuous opposer of Bonaparte, whom he suspected and loudly censured, on account of his ambitious views. The First Consul having thus terminated the business to his satisfaction, set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 30th of January, and was received with those acclamations which always attended his entry into that capital.

It appears that none of the political intrigues or negotiations in which Bonaparte engaged, had in the least degree allayed his ardent desire for concluding a peace with England. Conformably to the fifteenth article of the preliminaries signed at London, in October, 1801, the French, English, Dutch, and Spanish plenipotentiaries repaired to Amiens, and continued seriously engaged in negotiating a peace, intended to confirm the stability of Europe. Even at the period in question, the possession of the island of

Malta, fated to be the source of a renewal of war, proved such an obstacle as to occupy the negotiators two months, ere they could agree as to what power should be put in possession of the object of debate. At length, the definitive treaty of peace between the French republic and the other powers was signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March, by Joseph Bonaparte in behalf of France, the Marquis Cornwallis for England, the Chevalier Azzara for Spain, and M. de Schimmelpenninck for Holland.

The tribute paid to Marquis Cornwallis, in reference to that occasion, when Napoleon was afterwards an exile at St. Helena, was expressed in the most grateful terms. He described him as a man of probity, and a generous and sincere character—"*Un très brave homme.*" "He was," said Napoleon, "the man who first gave me a good opinion of the English:" his integrity, fidelity, frankness, and the nobleness of his sentiments, impressed Napoleon with a very favourable opinion of our nation: he recollected Cornwallis saying, "There are certain qualities which may be bought; but a good character, sincerity, proper pride, and calmness in the hour of danger, are not to be purchased." Napoleon also gave him a regiment of cavalry, for amusement, while at Amiens, the officers of which esteemed him highly. The Marquis never broke his word; and, when the treaty was ready for his signature at the Hotel de Ville, something happened which prevented his Lordship from attending; however, he sent word to the French ministers that they might consider the treaty as signed, and that he would affix his name on the ensuing day. A courier from England arrived the same night, with instructions to refuse his assent to certain articles; but Lord Cornwallis was a man of such strict probity, that he wrote to his government, stating the promise made, and, that having once pledged his word, he would keep it; therefore, if dissatisfied, ministers might refuse to ratify the treaty. Bonaparte testified much grief on hearing of the Marquis's death; to which he added, that some of his

friends occasionally wrote, requesting favours for prisoners in France, which he had uniformly granted.

The treaty of Amiens, which consolidated the colossal power of Bonaparte, by conferring upon him the title of Grand Pacificator, was not received with such joy in England as in France. The new acquisitions of the French republic appeared to the eyes of the discontented as usurpations, or concessions, which Lord Cornwallis had not been authorised to sanction. What appeared most surprising in France was, that Mr. Pitt, then no longer in administration, should have defended the treaty of Amiens with his usual eloquence. He stated, that he had thought, and still continued of opinion, that the restoration of monarchy in France would be a happy event, both for that country and Europe; but as such an object could not be obtained, he conceived his government should avail itself of what was actually within its reach, and take into consideration the present state of the two countries; for instance, the losses of France, in its population, capital, and industry; the advantages England had acquired by her union with Ireland; the increased reputation of her arms by sea and land; the consolidation of the empire of the Indies; and the unexampled progress of commerce.

In March, Bonaparte announced to his good city of Paris the treaty ratified with Spain, whereby Louisiana was surrendered to the French republic, together with the duchy of Parma, and the island of Elba. Bonaparte's return from Lyons was announced in the metropolis by repeated discharges of cannon, a circumstance the more remarkable, as no members of the ancient *regime* ever required such a compliment, in the height of their prosperity.

This personal elevation seemed to have produced a visible effect on Bonaparte, as it was observed he assumed a greater degree of reserve, keeping not only his general officers, but intimate acquaintance, more at a distance than before. Even in his legislative councils he began to display arbitrary feelings; and, by the regulation stipulating

that one-fifth of the Legislative Body should go out annually by ballot, he contrived to get rid of considerable opposition. He had even the temerity to proscribe Chenier, author of one of the most popular songs in France during the Revolution, namely, the famous Marsellais Hymn. That poet, in fact, wrote most of the revolutionary songs, and greatly contributed to invigorate public spirit, on which account he was considered as a dangerous person; as well as Benjamin Constant, a most persuasive orator, known to be favourable to such a peace as should be followed by civil liberty, instead of military despotism. Hence many of the republican legislators began to perceive, that any opposition offered to Napoleon must be attended with the loss of their situations and salaries.

On the 6th of May, the definitive treaty of Amiens was presented to the French Tribunate, on which occasion a proposition was made in that assembly, to confer some striking mark of public gratitude on the "Great Pacificator." This proposal was agreed to, and having received the concurrence of the other constituent bodies, the Senate, on the 8th, declared the re-election of Bonaparte to the Consular dignity for ten years beyond the term for which he had been already chosen. When the proposal was communicated to the First Consul, he declared, "It was the suffrages of the people that invested him with the chief magistracy, and that he should not consider himself secure of possessing their confidence, unless the act for retaining him in that situation was ratified by the public voice." In compliance with such wish, registers were opened in the different departments, for inscribing the suffrages of the citizens; but the question was materially *changed;* it then stood, "Shall Bonaparte be elected First Consul for life?" A second question was subjoined—"Shall Bonaparte be invested with the power of naming his successor?"—when both questions were carried by the immense majority of 3,577,259 votes in the affirmative, and 9064 in the negative. In the Tribunate, only one dissentient voice was

heard, namely, that of Carnot, minister at war. It was also opposed in the Senate by Garat, Sieyes, Gregoire, and Lanjunais.

In pursuance of the plan proposed by the First Consul, a new constitution was soon after laid before the Legislative Body; which was finally arranged and accepted during a single sitting, and immediately proclaimed to the people. The Consuls were then appointed for life; and the First Consul deputed to present the names of the other two to the Senate, who might reject the first and second so offered, but must ratify the third presentation. The First Consul was to name his successor, and possess the power of pardoning in all cases; declaring war and peace, and prescribing to the Senate such subjects only as they might deliberate upon.

To that assembly equally belonged the power of suspending the functions of juries; of proclaiming departments out of the protection of the law; of determining when persons arrested in extraordinary cases were to be brought before the tribunals; and of dissolving the Legislative Body and the Tribunate.

The First Consul, further considering his authority incomplete, while any power was left in the state that did not immediately emanate from himself, and anxious to aggrandize the army, determined upon the formation of a military order of nobility, under the designation of the Legion of Honour. To this the legislature agreed; and that it should be composed of fifteen cohorts, and a council of administration. Each cohort was to consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. The First Consul was always to be chief of the legion; of the council of administration; and the members were to be appointed for life. The pay of each grand officer was fixed at five thousand francs, and of each legionary at two hundred and fifty. All military men who had received arms of honour were members, as well as those citizens who had

rendered eminent services to the state in the late war, or caused the government to be respected. Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the First Consul, was elected Grand Master of this new order; and, to rivet more fully the interest of the government, members of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour were appointed members of the Senate. In fact, to diminish the authority of the Legislative Body, founded, though imperfectly, on the principle of representation, and exalt the Senate, which depended chiefly on the choice and nomination of the First Consul, were the principal objects of Napoleon; by which political liberty was in a great measure annihilated.

This acquisition of the Consulship for life, and the terms obtained by the Concordat with the Pope, had filled the minds of the people at large with sensations of pride and gratitude. A new Pontiff had been invested with the purple, as head of the Romish church, on the 13th of March, 1800; when Chiaramonti, Pope elect, assumed the name of Pius VII, owing his promotion, in a great measure, to the influence which the First Consul had exercised in the Conclave. It appeared that he was inclined to adopt the conduct of one of his predecessors, Benedict XIV, as a model for his own. He sent Cardinal Gonsalvi into France, to negotiate a Concordat upon bases little less *ultramontaine* than those of the famous Concordat agreed upon by Francis the First and Pope Leo the Tenth.

On the 15th of July, 1801, a convention was signed by Joseph Bonaparte, and the two representatives of the Holy See, Cardinal Gonsalvi and Monsignor Spina, Archbishop of Corinth. That treaty, which had been kept secret by both parties, caused the re-opening of the churches, and was made public in Paris at the same time as the treaty of Amiens, being solemnly promulgated on Easter-day, by sound of trumpets and several discharges of artillery. The pomp of such a religious ceremony, in a city where nothing of the kind had been witnessed for many years, and the brilliant procession, in which the Pope's Legate figured

with the First Consul, collected innumerable spectators, who could not conceal the pleasure they felt at this partial restoration of the religion of their forefathers.

The answer given by Bonaparte to the message from the Conservative Senate, announcing the prolongation of his Consulship for ten years, contained expressions in some degree prophetic: "Fortune," said he, "has smiled upon the Republic; but fortune is inconstant; how many men, upon whom she has heaped her favours, have lived too long by some years! The interest of my glory and happiness seem to have marked the period of my public life, at the moment when the peace of the world is proclaimed: but you think that I owe the nation a new sacrifice; I will make it, if the wishes of the people correspond with the command authorised by your suffrages."

This personal elevation had its ample share in contributing to the number of Bonaparte's enemies. In fact, it appears in some measure astonishing, how any individual could persuade a whole nation, day after day, to yield him up such a portion of its rights and privileges. However, among many instances that might be adduced of Napoleon's power of persuasion, one which occurred about this period is not the least remarkable.

In the beginning of the summer of 1802, some officers of rank, enthusiastic republicans, took great umbrage at Bonaparte's conduct, and determined to go and remonstrate with him upon the points that had given them offence, and speak their minds freely; and, on the evening of the same day, one of the party gave the following account of that interview:—

"I do not know whence it arises, but there is a charm about that man, indescribable and irresistible. I am no admirer of his; I dislike the power to which he has risen; yet I cannot help confessing, that there is something in him which seems to speak him born to command. We went into his apartment, determined to declare our minds; to expostulate with him warmly; and not to depart till our

subjects of complaint should be removed. But in his manner of receiving us there was a certain *je ne sais quoi*, which disarmed us in a moment; nor could we utter one word of what we had intended to say. He talked to us for a length of time, with an eloquence peculiarly his own, explaining, with the utmost clearness and precision, the necessity of steadily pursuing the line of conduct he had adopted, and, without contradicting us in direct terms, controverted our opinions so ably, that we had not a word to offer in reply; we therefore retired, having done nothing but listen to, instead of expostulating with, him; fully convinced, at least for the moment, that he was in the right, and that we were altogether in the wrong."

During the summer of 1802, Paris was visited by numerous Englishmen of rank and distinction, and, among the rest, by Mr. Fox, who was received by the First Consul, and indeed the whole French nation, with the highest marks of honour and respect. His arrival in France was announced in the Moniteur: even at Calais, Mr. and Mrs. Fox were waited on by the municipality in their scarfs, when, after expressing his congratulations, the mayor inquired of Mrs. Fox, if they would order any particular play for the evening. At Lisle, Mr. Fox experienced similar attentions, the theatre being illuminated for his reception. At Paris, crowds hastened to hail him: he there received addresses from all the learned and public bodies; was visited by persons of the greatest celebrity; and his reception at the new French court was of the most flattering description. To talk of Mr. Fox was not enough: it became a rage with the Parisians to imitate his speaking, dress, manners, looks, habits, and even his dinners. It was the fashion to be a reflecting man—to think like Mr. Fox! Not only among statesmen and generals was that great man distinguished, and his society courted; he attracted every eye at the Opera; his portrait was in every window, as well as medallions stamped with his likeness; while the enchanting Madame Recamier, constant in her attentions,

paraded him through the whole circle of beaux and elegantes.—"Come," said she, "I must keep my promise, and show you on the promenade. The people of Paris must always have a spectacle: before you came, I was the fashion; it is a point of honour, therefore, that I should not appear jealous of you. You must attend me, sir."

Whatever were his intentions, Bonaparte therefore enjoyed the satisfaction of knowing that he had secured his object. Mr. Fox, we are assured, always recalled that period of his life with infinite satisfaction. "Bonaparte," observed Mr. Fox, after their interviews together, "is a man as magnificent in his means, as in his ends: he is a most decided character, and will hold his purpose with more constancy, and through a longer interval, than is imagined; his views are not directed to this kingdom, he looks only to the Continent. His commercial enmity is but a temporary measure, and never intended to be acted upon as permanent policy."—"I never saw," added Mr. Fox, on another occasion, "so little indirectness in any statesman as in the First Consul. He made no secret of his designs."

Napoleon having occasion to speak of Mr. Fox, which he did in very warm terms, mentioned the cordial reception he met with in France, and related, that one day he went with his family to see St. Cloud, where there was a private cabinet, which had not been opened for some time, and was never shown to strangers. By some accident, Fox and his wife opened the door and entered. There he saw the statues of a number of great men, chiefly patriots, of Sidney, Hampden, Washington, Cicero, Lord Chatham, and among the rest, his own, which was first recognised by his wife, who said, "My dear, this is yours!" This little incident, though trifling, gained Fox great honour, and spread immediately throughout Paris.*

* The following incident is a proof of the great consideration in which the Parisians held this distinguished statesman. 'Miss Plumptre states that, one night, she was agreeably surprised to see Mr. Fox, then recently arrived at Paris, make his first appearance at the *Theatre Français*. He had not taken his seat in the box many minutes, before

Unfortunately for the continuance of the promised happiness of this period, the war of *words*, which finally led to a rupture of the peace of Amiens, commenced soon after the treaty had been signed. On the 4th of June, 1802, a despatch from Mr. Merry, the British minister at Paris, was received by Lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state, stating, that M. Talleyrand had complained to him of the countenance given by the British Court to the French princes, the *ci-devant* French bishops; to Georges, and other individuals inimical to the French government; that it was the First Consul's wish that the British government should remove those obnoxious persons out of the British dominions; and he thought the residence of Louis XVIII, then at Warsaw, was the proper residence for the rest of the family. M. Talleyrand added, that the First Consul solicited no more than the British government had demanded of France, when the Pretender resided in that country.

In the month of July, M. Otto, the French minister at London, transmitted a note to Lord Hawkesbury, demanding, in the name of his government, the punishment of M. Peltier, for a gross libel published on the First Consul and the whole French nation. He also complained of the libellous paragraphs in the *Courier de Londres*, a French paper published in London, and others by Mr. Cobbett, &c.

M. Otto afterwards complained of the French emigrants in the island of Jersey, and solicited their removal,

he was recognised by some company in the pit, who immediately exclaimed aloud, with an involuntary impulse of enthusiasm, "*Ah, voilà Monsieur Fox!*" The exclamation was no sooner heard, than every face was turned towards the box where the object of it sat; and the name of *Monsieur Fox! Monsieur Fox!* was repeated by a thousand tongues, accompanied by a general burst of applause and clapping of hands. Perfectly unconscious, at first, of what had occasioned this enthusiasm, Mr. Fox sat still, only looking about, as if endeavouring to make out what was meant by it; but the frequent repetition of his name precluding the possibility of his not at length understanding it, he rose, and acknowledged the compliment with a proper salutation to the company. This again was returned by another burst of applause; and, the whole evening, *Monsieur Fox* divided at least the attention of the house with the performers, if he did not occupy the larger share of it.

together with the Bishops of Arras, St. Pol de Leon, and others in London, who, under pretext of religion, sought to raise disturbances in France. In answer to which he was officially informed, that the British government could not make any concession to a foreign power, that would in the smallest degree be dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of the country; nor proceed against the Bishops of Arras and St. Pol, before any proof had been adduced of their guilt; but that measures were in contemplation for the removal of Georges, and the lower classes of royalists, out of the country; and, in respect to Peltier, his offence was referred to his Majesty's Attorney-General. In the meanwhile, it appears that aggrandisement of territory, as well as influence, was an object which the First Consul always kept in view. In September, the Senatus Consultum at Paris passed an act, whereby Piedmont was formally united to France, being divided into six departments—the Sezia, Po, Doria, Stura, Tanaro, and the Marengo.

In the month of October, a despatch from Mr. Liston, dated from the Hague, was addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, complaining, that a French corps of ten or eleven thousand men, which was to have been withdrawn from Holland on the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain, still remained there. As to the guarantees for Malta, in case of our surrendering the same, there also seemed to be no small reluctance on the parts of Prussia and Russia. In the interim, Lord Whitworth had repaired to Paris, in the capacity of British minister at the court of the Tuileries; and M. Otto was superseded by General Andreossi at the court of St. James's. Lord Whitworth received a despatch from Lord Hawkesbury, dated November 30, relating to a complaint made against England, of delaying the fulfilment of one of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, which provided for our evacuation of Egypt. On that subject his Lordship was instructed to state, that, although General Stuart had informed Colonel Sebastiani of his inability to

leave Egypt till he should receive specific orders to that purpose, yet that this delay had entirely arisen from a misunderstanding on the part of the general; but, to obviate any further difficulties, fresh instructions had been sent, directing him to remove the king's troops from that country as speedily as possible.

From those and similar causes of contention, still nourished by the enemies of Peace, it was easy to perceive that her olive branch would not flourish much longer over the nations which had scarcely began to experience her blessings. The interval was only a pause between the shocks of an earthquake about to renew its devastation. But even at the period in question, still remote from the winding up of the catastrophe, Europe had already been shaken to its centre; and whole nations alternately appeared upon the theatre of war, in consequence of the French Revolution, the issue of which had even then baffled all human calculation.

Forced to entertain fourteen armies at once, to oppose proportionate resistance to the enemy's preparations, France was compelled to select men capable of commanding, among her own population. They appeared as soon as called for, and, spreading themselves wheresoever the flames of war were illumed, they performed prodigies. As victories were more frequent, bravery, excited by emulation, became more brilliant; and those battles in which the greater number of warriors were engaged, proved of the most sanguinary description. The French armies, fighting at great distances from each other, animated their own courage by the communication of the details of their mutual successes, which, in an energetic manner, they then called exchanging victories. From that reciprocal ambition of glory, and the general concurrence of so many minds, excited by military enthusiasm, the natural result of the whole was what actually happened, a general agitation throughout Europe.

The memory of any invasion of territory upon a grand scale, had been lost in Europe for a considerable period;

but the French Revolution, in breaking the bonds which had united the various states, at once destroyed that equilibrium established by the different courts at so vast an expense, and wherein their principal safety consisted. United against France alone, those same courts gave a fatal example to the great nation they wished to punish, inspiring it with a wish for vengeance, which, for a length of time, remained unallayed.

The French nation, irritated by the efforts made to compress it within narrower limits, caused its armies to overrun several countries at once, and they seemed resolved not to lay down their arms, until they should have converted their vanquished foes into friends or subjects. Such a system, so obstinately pursued that nothing but the force of the elements was able to prevent its entire development, could not but produce those unexpected revolutions, which so suddenly transformed the face of several states. In fact, what epoch was ever so fruitful in great changes? When did the fortune of war exercise a more powerful influence, or give place to so many political vicissitudes? Some nations were expunged from the map of Europe; great states were weakened; thrones overturned; republics established, and kingdoms created; princes became obscure individuals, and obscure individuals were transformed into princes and kings. All the ancient social relations were destroyed; constitutions abolished or modified; a new direction given to commerce; and an immense spring communicated to every branch of civilisation, in the midst of a general war, without end or object.

Such was a spectacle worthy the observation of all ages, which the astonishing events of the French Revolution presented, in its rise and progress. Instantaneously, as it were, and at a moment when no one thought religion would ever again kindle the flames of war on the score of theological dogmas, the Catholic, and royal army of La Vendée, at first few in numbers, speedily increased, from a concourse of all the inhabitants of the surrounding countries. Several

veterans were found among those Frenchmen, snatched from their peaceable operations, to defend religious worship and their sovereign. The rapid successes obtained, inspired them with the confidence necessary for the performance of greater enterprises. Preceded by the sign of the cross, which floated upon their standards, encouraged by the priests and bishops who marched at their head, in less than three months they collected an hundred thousand men, obtained several victories, and conquered part of the territory of the French republic. Actions of the greatest *eclat*, exploits almost fabulous, and events bordering upon the miraculous, added lustre to each of the contending parties; while acts of the most atrocious nature, the excesses provoked by the most dreadful retaliation, as well as sanguinary and unpardonable reprisals, signalised that epoch of civil dissension.

Torn by intestine war, and, at the same time, attacked by all the powers of Europe, France, after the battle of Neerwinden, saw foreign armies suddenly precipitating themselves upon her territory like a torrent. What energy must not those men have possessed, who did not despair of saving the country at such a critical moment? Yet, notwithstanding such danger, new armies were organised, and, for a length of time, sustained the struggle with great loss. French soldiers seemed to derive advantages from defeats; and generals were formed in the art of commanding and manœuvring, upon their own frontiers. At length, the battles of Hondschoot and Watigney were gained; the lines of Weissemburg forced; and the victory of Fleurus opened to the French a career of conquest, which was only suspended by the treaty of Amiens, in 1802.

CHAP. XIII.

Symptoms of an approaching Rupture—Despatch from Lord Whitworth—Philippic against English Newspapers—Malta—Report of the French Colonel Sebastiani, on the State of Egypt—Pacific disposition of Mr. Fox—Assassins sent from England to France—Proposal made to the King of France at Warsaw—Dignified Answer—Lord Whitworth's Interviews with the First Consul—Veracity of Lord Whitworth's Statements of Bonaparte's Conversation, strongly impeached—Napoleon's Character of Official Documents published in England—Negotiations at Paris—Real object of the Renewal of the War avowed—Arrival of Lord Whitworth from Paris—Commencement of Hostilities, and Seizure of British Subjects in France—French Declaration—Invasion of Hanover—Blockade of the Elbe and Weser.

PRIOR to the commencement of the year 1803, peace had been gradually vanishing from the clouded hemisphere of politics; and of its final departure very little doubt remained. A despatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, 27th of January, contained the report of a conversation which had taken place on the Tuesday evening preceding, relative to two points equally important to the maintenance of a good understanding between the two countries. This occurred between Lord Whitworth and M. Talleyrand, who pronounced a most bitter philippic against English newspapers, and assured Lord Whitworth that the First Consul was extremely hurt, to find that his endeavours at conciliation had, to that period, produced no other effect than to increase their abuse. To this, his lordship replied, that whatsoever was said in the English papers, might be considered as a retaliation for articles published in those of France. Secondly, that what was officially published in that country, was by no means so in England; that the English government could not have such a control over the papers, as the First Consul had in France; and that till he could so far master his feelings, as to be indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, that state of irritation must remain without a remedy. On the subject of the evacuation of Malta, the French minister said, another Grand Master would soon be elected, and that all the guarantees were ready, excepting those of Rus-

sia, whose scruples in that respect would be easily overcome; consequently, the time would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no pretext for retaining possession of Malta. To this, Lord Whitworth replied, that he would report their conversation to the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, and communicate the answer to the French minister, as soon as it should be received.

In that answer the British minister was directed to reply, "That the late treaty of peace was negotiated on a basis not merely proposed by his Majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French government, viz. that his Majesty should hold a compensation out of his conquests, for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the Continent; and that his Majesty was warranted in claiming equivalents for those acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His Majesty, however, anxious to prevent every ground of misunderstanding, was willing to waive all pretensions he might have of such a nature, if the notice of his government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to the First Consul. His Majesty, therefore, could not regard the conduct of the French government on various occasions, without feeling it necessary distinctly to declare, that it would be impossible for him to enter into any further discussions relative to Malta, unless he should obtain a satisfactory explanation on the subject of that communication."

The report of Colonel Sebastiani, inserted in the Moniteur of the 30th January, consisted of observations made in the discharge of a mission, undertaken by order of the French government, to the principal cities of Syria and Egypt. The remarks of the Colonel were more military than commercial. "The Egyptian astrologers," he remarked, "make predictions every day, on what concerns the First Consul. In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all liked to talk of him—all offered up prayers for his happiness. Even Dgezzar, Pacha of Acre, conceived a high

esteem for the French, and, speaking of Bonaparte, said, "in stature he is small, but he is nevertheless the greatest of mankind. I know he is deeply regretted at Cairo, where they wish to see him again." On the 16th of October, 1802, Colonel Sebastiani waited on General Stuart, who had the weakness to acknowledge, that he had not then received orders from his court to quit Alexandria, and even believed he should pass the winter there. From that he concluded General Stuart was a man of *mediocre* talents; but not so the Chevalier Sades, a Frenchman, his aide-de-camp. The English army in Egypt, Sebastiani estimated at 4430 men, occupying Alexandria and the neighbouring forts. Corn, rye, wood, and provisions, were furnished by the Pacha of Cairo, without any payment, and great waste was made. The Turkish force amounted to about 18,000 men, without discipline, and destitute of the first principles of the military art. The Pacha of Alexandria was little better than a prisoner to the English. On announcing to the Capitan Bey that the agents of French commerce would assemble in Egypt, that communication afforded great pleasure, while they did not conceal their grief, occasioned by the stay of the English. Dgezzar also said, that he should himself be the French commissary at Acre, and take care that their countrymen were well received; he desired that the commissary sent by the First Consul should reside at Seide, that being the most commercial part of his dominions. The Colonel added, that the Ionian Isles would declare themselves French, as soon as an opportunity offered; and that 6000 French would be sufficient for the conquest of Egypt.

On the 26th of February, a personage of prominent distinction, employed by high authority, waited on the King of France at Warsaw, and verbally applied to his Majesty, in terms the most respectful, but at the same time urgent, and, in the opinion of him who urged them, the most persuasive, the proposal being to renounce the throne of France, and requiring the same renunciation on the part of all the members of the Bourbon family: the envoy, more-

over, observed, that, as a price of this sacrifice, Bonaparte would secure indemnities to his Majesty, and even a splendid establishment. Louis, animated by that sentiment which is never obliterated from elevated minds, and made him cling as tenaciously to his rights as he did to the crown of France, immediately wrote the following answer, which he delivered, on the 28th of February, to the person who had been deputed to address him.

ANSWER OF LOUIS XVIII. TO NAPOLEON.

"I am far from being inclined to confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour and military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatsoever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines he can induce me to forego my claims; for otherwise he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has thus taken.

"I cannot pretend to know what may be the decree of the Almighty, respecting my race and myself, but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me, by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil those obligations to my last breath:—as a descendant of St. Louis, I shall endeavour to imitate his example, by respecting myself, even in captivity and chains. As successor of Francis the First, I shall at least aspire to say with him, '*We have lost every thing but our honour.*'*

(Signed) "Louis."

* In order that the reader may form a just opinion of the character of Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII. we subjoin the following account, containing many circumstances with which he is in all probability unacquainted.

The misfortunes of the family of Louis XVIII. as well as his own, his subsequent elevation to power, at a time when the world began almost to forget his existence,—his expulsion from France, doomed in all appearance to pass the remainder of his life in an obscure exile, the prostration of his renowned adversary, and the humiliation of his country, his return to his capital at the head of the foreign bayonets which

On the 2d of March, the King wrote to Monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructing that

freed Europe from the control of an unprincipled soldiery, and subjected it to the rule of a band of perfidious despots,—gave an importance to Louis XVIII., independent of all other considerations.

Louis Stanislaus Xavier de France, Count de Provence, second son of the Dauphin, son of Louis XV. was born at Versailles, Nov. 17, 1755. From his earliest years he manifested a timid and reserved disposition. Study became his predominant passion; and his preceptor never remarked in him any of those displays of passion, or warmth of affection, which are often the signs of a noble mind. Educated with his two brothers, the Duke de Berry (afterwards Louis XVI.) and the Count d'Artois, he always displayed a greater reserve towards his elder than his younger brother. At the accession of Louis XVI. to the throne, Monsieur, who had a sort of reputation as a man of talent, on account of the Roman literature which he was fond of quoting in conversation, wished to take part in the affairs of government. He even put a small pamphlet into the hands of the King, entitled "*Mes Pensées.*" Louis XVI. meeting him, the next day, in the gallery at Versailles, said to him, coarsely enough, but after the manner to which he was inclined by his character, "Brother, henceforward keep *your thoughts* to yourself." This debut did not discourage him; and, profiting by the first appearance of confusion, he began to intrigue against Louis XVI. and Maria Antoinette.

At the Assembly of the Notables, his bureau was in open opposition to all the others. This prince had calculated, long before, the means of at least procuring himself to be nominated Regent of the kingdom. He varied in his projects. The last which he adopted was that of reviving the system of Grand Feudatories, whereby he acquired considerable property in every province, in order to possess a sovereignty in all. It was he who had (by means of the Duke of Fitzjames) the papers laid before the Parliament of Paris, tending to establish the bastardy of the children of Louis XVI. who was known to be impotent. This it was which gave rise to the saying of the Count d'Artois, at the baptism of Madame, now Duchess d'Angouleme:—*Pour celle là elle n'est pas de Sirè* (Cirè). Louis XVIII. may be regarded as one of the most ardent promoters of the Revolution. The business of the Marquess de Favras, who was to have carried off the King to Perouse, proved to be the work of Monsieur, who was then to have been proclaimed Regent. During the execution of the unfortunate Favras, it is known that this prince displayed the greatest uneasiness, fearing least his agent should reveal all he knew. He sent every minute to learn what was going forward, and waited in the dining-room; when, at length, one of his people arrived, out of breath, and exclaimed, "Monsieur, the Marquess is hanged." Monsieur immediately recovered his serenity, and said, "*Let the dinner be served up.*"

When the course of events indicated pretty clearly the danger to which the royal family was exposed, Monsieur was one of the first who emigrated. He quitted Paris in June, 1791, and went to Austrian Flanders. He has left us a description of this Hegira, dedicated to the companion of his flight, d'Avaray, a very fit Omar for such a Mahomet. It was this running away that M. de Talleyrand described so wittily as "*the journey of Harlequin, who is always afraid, and always 'hungry.'*"

From Brussels, Monsieur went to Coblentz, where he organised the system of emigration, and, by his intrigues in the interior, accelerated

prince to make known the same to the members of the Bourbon dynasty, then in England, taking charge to inform

the progress of the Revolution, and took an active part in all its violence. The publication of a multitude of official facts has proved that Monsieur had *direct and constant communications with* Robespierre. Even at this very time, his sister has a pension from the privy purse of the King. All the members of the Parliament of Paris, who were so unfortunate as to have any knowledge of the papers laid before that body by the Duke of Fitzjames, were guillotined. The virtuous Malesherbes was also executed, because to him had been confided the secret codicil made by Louis XVI.

Banished from Cologne by the Elector, repulsed from Vienna by the Emperor, Monsieur, then known by the title of Count de Lille, went first to Poland, and afterwards to Mittau. It was at this last place his great love of writing induced him to compose his celebrated letter to Napoleon, then Consul, which began thus:—"I have never confounded M. Bonaparte with," &c. &c. In spite of this display of fine sentiments, the King, for Louis XVII. was then dead, always laboured for his re-establishment; and the conspiracies of Georges Cadoudal, Pichegru, Moreau, and the *machine infernale*, shew what sort of means of success appeared proper to him.

The peace of Tilsit conducted all the Bourbons to England. It is useless to enter into details of the residence of Louis XVIII. at Hartwell. It is enough to notice, *en passant*, the gratitude which this prince displayed for the services performed for him by the English government. The fall of Napoleon having established Louis XVIII. on the throne of France, he governed it, in 1814, with all the folly of concealed hatred. He deserved the character, that "*he had forgotten nothing, and learnt nothing.*" The return of Bonaparte from the island of Elba made the monarch and court vanish in the twinkling of an eye; and the Bourbons were forced to beg in foreign countries for the second time. On his return, after the battle of Waterloo, under the protection of English and Prussian bayonets, Louis XVIII. gave himself up to all his native cruelty. No longer afraid, he indulged in his desire of vengeance without restraint. The famous poet Chenier said of him, that he was Tiberius without his courage: the 20th of March, and the vengeance of 1815, have demonstrated the correctness of the judgment in question.

A trait in the character of this prince, which also belongs to the family of the Bourbons, is, that he had always a favourite, such as MM. d'Avaray, de Jaucourt, de Blacas, de Caze. The latter, however, should not be included altogether among the favourites; for his rise was consequent upon an event which deserves to be recorded. When Courtois, the Conventionalist, died, in 1818, M. de Caze, who knew that this man possessed an autograph correspondence of Louis XVIII. with Robespierre, repaired to his house, and took possession of it, in his capacity of Minister of Police. He acquired by this a claim on the gratitude of the King, and a means of keeping him in dependence. Such was the true cause of the elevation of that *parvenu*, who was not worthy, either by his talents or the services he performed, of the high offices he filled.

This sovereign was, in his natural disposition, full of vanity and ostentation. He liked to pass for a man of erudition, which exposed him, several times, to disagreeable circumstances, particularly once at Hartwell, where he quoted, with great emphasis, a verse of Persius, and attributed it to Juvenal. The Marquess of S——y, an emigrant,

such of them respecting it, who did not reside in that country. On the 22d of April, Monsieur called a meeting of the princes, who, with the same unanimity, signed an adhesion to the answer of the King, of the 28th of February.

That overture left no doubt on the minds of persons of discernment, that Bonaparte, having determined to extinguish even the name of Republic in France, aspired to the imperial purple; and the events which rapidly succeeded, confirmed what at first appeared to be merely conjectural.

But, to return to the complaints respecting Malta, and other obstacles to the continuance of peace on the part of Great Britain. It appears, that, on the 18th of March, Lord Whitworth received a message from the First Consul, requesting to see him at the Tuileries. At the interview in question, Bonaparte expostulated respecting the provocations he had received from England, and principally com-

and an elegant Latin scholar, pointed out the mistake of the *well-beloved monarch*, and, the next day, brought a Persius to confirm the assertion he had made. The anger of Louis, and his hatred of the too correct Marquess, may be easily imagined. Louis was not famous for his courage; and, though he constantly made a great parade with the names of Louis XIV. and Henry IV. there is no instance on record of his ever having exposed himself to danger.

Being as yet only *Monsieur*, the late King was anxious to obtain the palm for dramatic composition: he wrote the "Marriage Secret," a comedy in three acts, and in verse, which he wished to have represented under the name of his Secretary of *Commandemens*, the celebrated Ducis, the imitator of Shakspeare, on the French boards; but Ducis represented to him that this species of composition was so much opposed to his own, that it was not possible for the public to mistake them, and he proposed, in his place, his Secretary Desfaucheraire. The piece was represented, and succeeded. It is cold, like its royal author, but elegantly written.

Louis XVIII. was, for a long period, a prey to serious infirmities. A dry erisypelas on both his legs deprived him of the power of locomotion. The attention of the most skilful physicians prolonged his life beyond the period which seemed indicated by his disease. During all that time, the King had the greatest confidence in medicine. All London will recollect the favour which a priest, called Père Elysee, enjoyed with the King; and M. de Blacas rose into favour from proposing remedies. The enormous appetite possessed by the King was an extraordinary circumstance: he ate with voracity, and without suffering inconvenience from it, which often gave rise to some laughable stories. The decomposition of the blood, and an œdematous state, brought on a paralysis of the lower extremities, which were struck with death. The disease made rapid progress, and the King expired in his sixty-ninth year.

plained of the non-evacuation of Malta, and the abuse levelled against him in the English papers. He said, "he would rather see Britain in possession of the fauxbourg St. Antoine than Malta;" and, when speaking of Egypt, remarked, that, if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of that territory by force, he might have done so, a month before, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir. "This he should not do, whatsoever might be his desire to possess it for a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war: sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or some arrangement with the Porte."—"As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know, what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was his only offensive means, and he was determined to hazard the attempt, by placing himself at the head of the expedition."—He acknowledged there were a hundred chances to one against him; still he was determined on the attempt, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion. He then expatiated on the natural force of the two countries—France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, ready for the most desperate enterprises; and England, with a fleet which made her mistress of the seas. Two such countries, he said, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but in their strifes might overturn it. The First Consul concluded by declaring—"To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the English prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies altogether discontinued."

For some days, Lord Whitworth had no means of ascertaining the effects produced on the mind of the First Consul by his latest communications; but, as the court was held at the Tuileries on Sunday, March 13th, his Lordship, in his despatch of the 14th, said, "The First Consul accosted me, evidently labouring under considerable agitation.

He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him I had received letters two days ago. He immediately said, "And so you are determined to go to war?" "No," I replied, "we are too sensible of the advantages of peace."—"We have already," said he, "waged war these fifteen years."—As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed, "that is already too long."—"But," said he, "you wish me to carry it on for fifteen years more, and you compel me to it."—I told him that was very far from his Majesty's intention. He then proceeded to Count Marcoff, and the Chevalier Azzara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, "The English wish for war; but if they be the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheath it. They pay no regard to treaties. We must henceforth cover treaties with black crape."—He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by saying something personally civil to me—"Why these armaments? Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France; but if you will arm, I must arm too: if you will go to war, I must go to war also. You may perhaps be able to destroy France, but not to intimidate her."—"We desire," said I, "neither the one nor the other. We wish to live in good understanding with her. It is requisite then to pay regard to treaties—woe to those who pay no regard to treaties: they shall be responsible to all Europe."—All this passed loud enough to be heard by two hundred people who were present.

Lord Whitworth added his persuasion, "that there was not a single person in the room, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of Bonaparte's conduct, and the total want of dignity as well as of decency on this occasion.

M. Talleyrand, in answer to Lord Whitworth's repre-

sentation on this treatment, assured him it was far from the First Consul's wish to distress him; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges brought against him by the English government, and that it was incumbent on him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe.

But when Napoleon, during his exile, was questioned as to the *manner* in which this famous interview with Lord Whitworth was carried on, he answered, "I was by no means violent.—Lord Whitworth said, on leaving the room, that he was well satisfied with me, and contented with the manner in which I had treated him, and hoped that all would go on well. This he said to some of the ambassadors of the other powers. A few days afterwards, when the English newspapers arrived with his account of the interview, stating that I had been in such a rage, it excited the astonishment of every body; especially of those ambassadors, who remonstrated with him, and said, 'My Lord, how can this account be correct? You know that you allowed to us that you were well contented and satisfied with your reception, and stated your opinion, that all would go on well.'—He did not know what to answer, and said, 'But this account is also true!'"

Now, upon these different statements strong doubts must be admitted, unless we can allow that the opinion of Bonaparte himself, as expressed to Mr. O'Meara, upon the nature of our official documents in general, is founded on facts. "A false account," he said, "is sent to be submitted to the public, and deposited in the archives; and a secret one, stating the *truth*, for the ministers to act upon; so that upon an inquiry being made by parliament, they, the ministers, have a set of documents in the archives, ready to submit for inspection; from whence conclusions are to be drawn, and decisions made. In this

manner, though the contents are *untrue*, the ministers cannot be accused of imposing false statements upon the parliament, because they were officially transmitted to them; and the public and parliament are satisfied. References are made, and every thing appears fair; yet the ground-work of the whole is *false*."

He accounted for this, from the obligations the British ministers are under to communicate every thing to the people; and thus making them judges of their conduct, by entering into explanations with them, they were compelled to defend themselves, by adapting their communications to their own convenience.

Another anecdote related of Lord Whitworth by Napoleon, whilst at St. Helena, seems to possess a still less portion of credibility: "Two days before Lord Whitworth left Paris, an offer was made to the French minister, and others about Bonaparte, of thirty millions of francs, and to acknowledge him as king of France, provided he would give up his claims upon Malta to England!"

Still the British ambassador was not withdrawn; but carried on negotiations till his government proceeded so far as to require the cession of Malta by the French, when the ambassador was told, that no consideration on earth would induce the First Consul to consent to the cession of Malta in perpetuity, in any shape whatever. This was given up by the British minister, who gave his consent to hold Malta for a certain number of years to be agreed upon, provided the island of Lampedosa could be obtained of the King of Sardinia. Lord Whitworth then begged M. Talleyrand to consider that England was actually in possession of Malta, and that therefore every modification tending to limit that, was in fact a concession on the part of his Britannic Majesty.

This argument, so nearly allied to an insult, coming from the mouth of an ambassador, was little calculated

to soften the untoward disposition of the First Consul. Accordingly, on the next day, M. Talleyrand was instructed to declare, that the First Consul "would on no terms hear either of a perpetual or a temporary possession of Malta (for ten years), and that, rather than submit to such an arrangement, he would even consent to our keeping it for ever; on the ground that, in the one there was an appearance of generosity and magnanimity; but in the other nothing but weakness and the effect of coercion; that therefore his resolution was taken, and what he had to propose, was the possession we required of the island of Lampedosa, or any of the other small isles, of which there are three or four between Malta and the coast of Africa, sufficient for a station in the Mediterranean, as a place of refuge and security for any squadron we might find it convenient to keep in that sea."

In a third conversation that took place, on Saturday the 23d of April, but with no material variation, the French minister offered Lampedosa, and Lord Whitworth peremptorily required the formal cession of Malta. On the 26th of April, Lord Whitworth communicated the *ultimatum* of the English court *verbally* to M. Talleyrand, who desired to have it stated in writing; but to this Lord Whitworth strangely replied, "he had no authority to do so, and he would not take the responsibility upon himself." The French minister forcibly, but unavailingly replied, "that verbal and fugitive conversations were insufficient for the discussion of such immense interests, in which no expression could be indifferent."—He at length, however, consented to receive the verbal notification of Lord Whitworth, who desired M. Talleyrand to recollect, that Tuesday, May 3d, must be the day of his departure.

Lord Whitworth afterwards complained of the delays of the French government; but these were evidently

occasioned by his refusal to communicate the *ultimatum* of his court in writing. A mode of proceeding so totally new, excited the greatest surprise, when the rupture of a formal treaty was in question; and yet, after several days had been spent in fruitless expectation, the First Consul, to shew his desire for peace, ordered that the verbal propositions of Lord Whitworth should be replied to in the same manner as if they had been regularly made under the official signature of the ambassador. It also appeared, that the high and haughty spirit of the First Consul, moderated in all probability by the persuasions of Talleyrand, at length yielded to circumstances; and no longer insisting on the evacuation of Malta, was willing to refer the question to the other contracting powers of the treaty of Amiens. The British minister, it seems, had evaded any conclusion respecting the cession of Malta, under the pretext, conveyed in an official note, that Russia had refused her guarantee, though the Emperor of Germany and Prussia still remained as such. This was a false assertion; for nearly at the same hour, "Providence," Napoleon observed, "which is sometimes pleased to confound bad faith, caused a courier to arrive from Russia, addressed to the plenipotentiaries of that power at Paris, and at London, by which his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, manifested with particular energy, the pain he felt, at learning the resolution of his Britannic Majesty to keep Malta. He renewed the assurances of his guarantee, and 'declared, that he accepted the demand made of his mediation by the First Consul, if both the powers would accede to it.'"

Lord Whitworth being informed of the misrepresentation of his court, with respect to Russia, without entering into any explanation, or making any endeavour to contradict or discuss this declaration, informed the French minister, that he was ordered to depart within thirty-six hours after the delivery of his last note, and

renewed his demand for passports, which were forwarded to him, and he left Paris on the 13th of May, 1803, to return no more.

It may be remarked as a singularity in the national character, that the late war, which has been so generally condemned for its ruinous consequences, since the rupture of the peace of Amiens, was at that period one of the most popular into which the nation had ever entered.

In England, at this crisis, nothing was hearkened to which could tend in the least to fix the charge of culpability, or even indiscretion, on ministers. On the contrary, it was gravely and pompously said to be "a war, not for Malta, but for Egypt; not for Egypt, but for India; not for India, but for England;" and such puerilities passed as equivalent to just and logical conclusions. It necessarily follows, that the absolute and peremptory determination of the English government to retain possession of Malta, in contempt or defiance of the treaty of Amiens, was a flagrant and inexcusable violation of public faith, and resembled the pretext for the memorable war with Holland in 1672.

At both periods, all was violence, precipitation, and folly. All the art and address of ministers were miserably vulgar and trite, and made use of to excite the nation almost to frenzy against France, as the unprovoked assailant of Britain; and thus to preclude, as far as possible, any prospect of future accommodation. In the mean time, Europe had begun to experience the benefits of a general peace, and was far from suspecting that the peace of Amiens was nothing more than a truce, concerted, in some measure, between the sovereigns, enemies of France, for the purpose of gaining time, and a better opportunity for trying once more the fortune of arms. The French nation had yielded to that heedless enthusiasm with which their first magistrate had inspired

them, and like many other individuals, could see nothing in him but "the man called by destiny" to put a period to the calamities of the revolution, to heal the wounds of the country, and bring back prosperity and abundance.

Bonaparte, without any violent efforts, but rather by gradual advances, had nearly usurped all the attributes of sovereignty; and the French, by their blind confidence in him, had made these concessions so much the more willingly, having persuaded themselves that, faithful to his oaths and promises, he would never abuse the faith of the nation; they therefore devoted themselves in a manner to the maintenance and consolidation of the great work, to which he had so powerfully contributed by the ascendancy of his genius.

The treaty of Amiens had already procured several advantages for England; but it did not by any means guarantee the constant preponderance of its commercial speculations. Peace rather introduced a competition, of which the English merchants soon became extremely sensible, and which has been so bitterly felt since the conclusion of the late war. After the peace of Amiens, the British government could not witness the activity and industry of the French, without jealousy and alarm. Re-animated by the peace, and encouraged by the First Consul, the commerce of France seemed taking such a flight, as would be likely to justify the criminations of the peace, by the parliamentary members in opposition to ministers.

In consequence of this turn of affairs, the cry for war was soon heard throughout the three kingdoms. The return of that monopoly which had lately been the cause of commercial prosperity, was daily and ardently invoked by all classes, with few exceptions. The minister yielded without hesitation to this movement of public opinion: this was the less surprising, as he had been re-

proached with neglecting to renew the ancient treaties with France, and especially that of 1783, which was extremely favourable to British commerce. The ministers then contemplated the obligation they were under to renew the war, with a secret pleasure, and seemed to think that a favourable opportunity now offered, to put the last hand to the annihilation of the navies of France and her allies; and this object being obtained, England would enjoy the sovereignty of the seas, alone and uncontrolled.

Thus it will appear, that Malta was made the apple of discord, and the fatal brand by which the flames of war, scarcely extinguished, were again lighted up.

On the 19th of May, 1803, Lord Whitworth arrived in London from Paris, and on the day preceding, his Britannic Majesty's declaration of war had been issued. The peace of Amiens had continued one year and sixteen days. In the course of a few days after this declaration had appeared, the First Consul gave orders for the seizure of all the British subjects in France, and in those countries occupied by the French armies. These persons, it is understood, were either shut up in prisons, or confined to particular places, as prisoners of war, upon parole: and according to the words of the First Consul's decree, were "to answer for those citizens of the republic, who may have been made prisoners by the subjects of his Britannic Majesty previous to any declaration of war." Upwards of 11,000 persons were said to have been arrested in France, in consequence of this unexpected measure. These consisted of many of the nobility, commercial men, and travellers. The seizure of two French merchant vessels in the bay of Audierne, by two English frigates, was stated as the immediate cause of this retaliating measure. But Napoleon asserted to O'Meara, that there was property to the amount of many millions' (of francs) and above 200 ships, seized, before he detained the English in France.

Bonaparte observed, whilst at St. Helena, that our ministers made a great outcry about the English travellers whom he detained in France, "although they themselves set me the example, by seizing upon all the French vessels, and persons on board of them, upon whom they could lay their hands, either in their harbours or at sea, before the declaration of war, and before I had detained the English in France. I said then, if you detain my travellers at sea, where you can do what you like, I will detain yours by land, where I am equally powerful."

But after this, it appears that the onus of detaining the English in France, was justly transferred from the shoulders of Napoleon to those of the British ministers; for we are informed in his Memoirs, "that he offered to release all the English he had detained in France before the declaration of war, provided their government would in like manner release the French, and their property seized on board of their ships. But this, ministers refused."

The French government, on the 20th of May, published a declaration on the causes which led to the recall of their ambassador from London, and on the renewal of the war with Great Britain. In this paper it is stated, that the present age and posterity will see all that has been done by France to put an end to the calamities of war; but nothing has been able to interrupt the course of the projects formed to enkindle discord between the two nations. The treaty of Amiens had been negotiated amidst the clamours of a party in England, hostile to peace; and scarcely was it concluded, before it became the object of the bitterest censure. Soon after, alarms were disseminated; dangers were pretended, to establish the necessity of such a peace establishment as to be a permanent signal of new hostilities. At length, an unexpected message all at once terrified England with imaginary armaments in France and Batavia.

Soon after, formidable armaments took place on the British coast, and in the ports of Great Britain; the sea was covered with her ships of war; and it was in the midst of these preparations, that the cabinet of London demanded of France the abrogation of a fundamental article of the treaty of Amiens. Every proposition made by France was rejected, and the demands of England became more imperious and more absolute. It was not in the principles of the French government to yield to menaces; it was not in their power to bend the majesty of the French people to laws prescribed to them by forms so haughty and so new.

This declaration was no sooner promulgated, than all the French armies were put in motion: that of Italy was strongly reinforced; and on the side of Germany they were no less active. A considerable French army was assembled in Holland, and another on the frontiers of Hanover, by which that Electorate was soon overrun, notwithstanding the Duke of Cambridge was sent over as Commander-in-Chief. The proclamations he issued there, calling upon all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, to rally round the standard of their country, produced no material effect upon the people, who seemed more disposed to listen to the warning voice of the French General, than to the patriotic calls of a British Prince. The city of Hanover was occupied on the 5th of June, and a decree was soon issued by Bonaparte, prohibiting the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser by the vessels of British merchants, which rivers were soon declared in a state of blockade by the English. In the month of September, several towns on the French coast were bombarded, particularly Dieppe and Granville, as were also the Dutch ports from the Zandvoort, in the vicinity of Haerlem, to Scheveningen, and many vessels destroyed.

CHAP. XIV.

Annual French Exposé—Discovery of the Plot of Pichegru and Georges—Case of Captain Wright—Napoleon's own Account of the Conspiracy—Defence of the Execution of the Duke D'Enghien—Duplicity of Talleyrand—The Duke de Berri—Character of Pichegru, Moreau, Georges Cadoudal—Violation of the German Territory—British Envoys charged with Traiterous Conduct—Lord Hawkesbury's Apology, and Talleyrand's Reply—Seizure of Sir George Rumbold—Bonaparte proclaimed Emperor of the French—Promotion of great Officers and Generals—Protest of Louis XVIII—Arrival of the Pope at Paris—Ceremony of Bonaparte's Coronation—M. David's Grand Picture—Distribution of Colours in the Champ de Mars—Refusal of the Ottoman Porte to acknowledge Bonaparte as Emperor of France—Napoleon's Visits to Boulogne.

THE French Legislative Body was this year assembled on the 7th of January, and on the 16th the annual *exposé* of the state of the republic was submitted to that assembly. This was the last publication in which the Ruler of France was to be contemplated as a citizen, giving an account to his fellow-citizens of the origin and success of his measures; but this represented the state of the republic in the most captivating colours. This *exposé* was designed to shew that the war had not even interrupted the plans marked out for a time of peace: the construction of roads, bridges and harbours, as well as the promotion of all objects of a similar nature, proceeded with undiminished zeal and activity. The finances were described as being in the most pros-

perous situation. The revenues were collected with unprecedented facility, and public credit had maintained itself against the shocks of war. In Hanover, success had invariably attended the French troops; the Hanoverian army, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, had laid down their arms, and the cavalry of the republic had been remounted, at the expence of a possession dear to the King of England. It was in conclusion declared, that France would never acknowledge less advantageous conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens; that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the United States, Helvetia, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire; and that the tranquillity given to the Continent by the treaty of Luneville, was secured and ratified by the proceedings of the Diet of Ratisbon.

The public mind being thus prepared to repose implicit confidence in Napoleon's government, an event occurred which materially contributed to accelerate the completion of his projects, and to elevate him to the summit of his ambition. Early in the month of February, a plot was detected, the object of which, was the overthrow of the existing government. The principal persons implicated in this conspiracy, were General Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Brittany, and Lajollais, a confident of General Moreau. It likewise appeared to a certain extent, that this general had been made acquainted with Pichegru's views, and that he had held secret meetings with that general, since his return from England to Paris. Lajollais, Moreau, and several others, were soon put under an arrest, and the treason against the Consular government announced to the republic, in a report to the First Consul, made by Regnier, the minister of justice, who ascribed the whole plot to England and her emissaries. On the promulgation of this report, the genius of the French nation displayed itself in a profusion of legislative propositions, and in

copious addresses. The Tribunate, the Senate, and the Legislative Body, all vied with each other in terms of courtly adulation, which was followed by the army and navy. To the addresses of felicitation delivered from the Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunate, the First Consul replied:

"Since I have attained the supreme magistracy, many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded dangers, which gave me no fear. But I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling, when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this plot had been successful, for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people, that the conspiracy was formed. I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate, and the will of the French people, have imposed upon me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm. My life will last as long as it will be useful for the nation, but I wish the French people to understand, that existence without their confidence and affection, would be for me without consolation, and for them have no object."

Connected with this conspiracy was the case of Captain Wright, who died in the prison of the Temple, to which Pichegru had also been committed: both these officers were for some time supposed to have been assassinated privately. Captain Wright, who was cruizing in a corvette in the bay of Quiberon, was becalmed, and taken by the French gun-boats. Wright had previously been fellow-prisoner with Sir Sidney Smith, and had served with him in Egypt and Syria. Wright had unfortunately been accused as the officer who effected the landing of Georges, Pichegru, and their companions, on the coast of France. Captain Wright was again conveyed

to Paris, and immured in the Temple, where he resisted every temptation to disclose the names of the persons by whom he had been employed, and by so doing fell a victim to his sense of honour and fidelity.

The account which Napoleon himself gave of the perpetrators of this conspiracy, at a period when no false colouring could in the least avail him, was as follows:

"In different nights of August, September, and December, 1803, and January 1804, Captain Wright landed Georges, Pichegru, Riviere, Coster, St. Victor, La Haye, St. Hilaire and others, at Beville. The latter four had been accomplices in the affair of the infernal machine, and the others were well known as chiefs of the Chouans. Pretending to be smugglers, they concealed themselves by day in lodgings prepared for them, and travelled only in the night. They had plenty of money, and were at Paris some time before they were discovered, though the police knew from Mehée de la Touche, that a plot was going on: this man, though paid as an English spy, informed the French police of all he knew. He had several conferences with Mr. Drake, the British chargé d'affairs at Munich."

When some of the persons landed by Wright were taken up and examined, it appeared that one Mussey, who lived at Offenburg along with the Duke D'Enghien, was very active in sending money to, and corresponding with those who had been secretly landed on the coasts. Querel, a surgeon, confessed he had been brought from England in Wright's ship along with Georges and several others, and that Georges was then in Paris, planning the assassination of the First Consul.

An emigrant of the name of Bouvet having hung himself in a state of despondency, was cut down by a gaoler, and while recovering his senses, burst out in incoherent expressions, saying Moreau had brought Pichegru from London; that he was a traitor, and had persuaded them

all that the army were for him. These expressions excited the attention of the police: they knew that a brother of Pichegru's, who had once been a monk, lived in Paris; he was arrested, and acknowledged he had seen his brother a day or two before. Moreau was also arrested. Pichegru was betrayed by one of his old friends, who had what he demanded, an hundred thousand francs.—Georges eluded the vigilance of the police nearly three weeks, and was then betrayed and taken, after having shot one of his pursuers. All his accomplices were afterwards apprehended. Pichegru boasted of having been employed by the Bourbons, but afterwards finding his case desperate, he strangled himself in the prison: Georges, Coster, and seven or eight more, were executed. Moreau was condemned to two years' imprisonment, which was commuted into banishment to America.

By the confession of some of these conspirators, it was discovered that the Duke D'Enghien was an accomplice, and only waiting on the frontiers of France for the assassination of Bonaparte, when he was to have entered France as the King's Lieutenant. "Was I," said Bonaparte, "to suffer that the Count d'Artois should send a parcel of miscreants to murder me, and that a prince of his house should hover on the borders of the country I governed, to profit by my assassination? According to the laws of nature, I was authorized to have him assassinated, in retaliation for the numerous attempts caused by him to be made upon me. He was seized, brought into France, and condemned by a law made long before I had any power there. He did not deny having borne arms against the republic; he behaved with great fortitude before the tribunal." When he arrived at Strasbourg he wrote a letter to Napoleon, in which he offered to discover every thing, if pardon were granted to him; said that his family had lost their claims for a long time, and concluded by offering his services to Bonaparte. This letter was de-

livered to Talleyrand, who concealed it till some time after the Duke's execution.

Had the Count d'Artois been in the Duke's place, Bonaparte said he would have suffered the same fate; "and," continued he, "were I *now* placed under similar circumstances, I would act in a similar manner."—The police learned by the means of Mehée's authority, that the Duke D'Enghien was concerned in a plot to *terrasser*, viz. overthrow, the *Premier Consul*, no matter by what means.

While the Duke was on his trial, Madame la Marechal Bessieres said to Colonel Ordener, who had arrested him, "Are there no possible means to save that unhappy man? Has his guilt been established beyond a doubt?"—"Madame," replied he, "I found in his house sacks of papers, sufficient to compromise the half of France." The Duke was executed in the morning, and not by torch-light, as has been represented.

Napoleon further stated, that the Duke de Berri also was to have landed at a certain place in Picardy, to have excited insurrection and assassination. Bonaparte received information of this, and sent Savary to the spot to arrest him. If he had been taken, he would have been instantly shot. He was on board an English vessel that was close upon the coast; but a certain signal previously agreed upon, not being made from Beville, the Duke was intimidated, and stood off again to sea.

Bonaparte added, there was something glorious in Captain Wright's death. He preferred taking away his own life to compromising his government.—The principal reason why Napoleon wished Wright to live, was to be able to prove by his evidence, on his trial, that * * * had caused assassins hired by the Count d' * * * * to be landed in France to murder him; and Wright's trial was to have been carried on in the presence of the ambassadors of the powers then in friendship with France.

Pichegru, as a general, Bonaparte said, was a man of

no ordinary talent; far superior to Moreau, though he had never done any thing extraordinary, as his success in the campaigns of Holland was greatly owing to the battle of Fleurus. Pichegru, after he had united himself to the Bourbons, sacrificed the lives of twenty thousand of his men, by throwing them purposely in the enemy's hands, with whom he had an understanding. Near Mentz, when acting with Kleber, he was guilty of another act of treachery. One of Pichegru's projects was, to get Louis to come and join the army under his command, and cause himself to be proclaimed king.—To ensure success, he signified to Louis, that it would be necessary to bring with him a large sum of money, as he said that *Vive le Roy* lay at the bottom of the throat, and would require a great quantity of wine to bring it out of the mouth.

Napoleon thought Moreau was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army of an hundred thousand men. He did not know how to profit by the number of his troops, or by their positions. Very cool and calm in the field, he was more collected, and better able to command in the heat of an action, than to make dispositions prior to it. He was often seen smoking his pipe in battle: he was not naturally a man of a bad heart. *Un bon vivant, mais il n'avait pas beaucoup de caractère.* He was led away by his wife, and another intriguing creole. His having joined Pichegru and Georges in the conspiracy, and subsequently having closed his life fighting against his country, will ever disgrace his memory.

Georges Cadoudal, the Vendean Chief, Napoleon said, was an *ignorant beast.* He had courage, and that was all. After the peace with the Chouans, Bonaparte endeavoured to gain him over, as a useful person. He sent for him, and spoke to him a long time. His father was a miller, and as he was an ignorant fellow himself, Bonaparte asked him why he wanted to restore those Bourbons,

saying, "If even you were to succeed in placing them upon the throne, you would still be a miller's son in their eyes. They would hold you in contempt, because you are not of noble birth." But I found that he had no heart, in fact, that he was no Frenchman.—A few days after he went over to London.

General Moreau, as before observed, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. To Arnaud Polignac, M. de Riviere Lajollais, and M. de Lozier, pardons were granted. How far General Moreau was implicated, will best appear from his own weak defence. Some of the parties concerned with him were allowed to state, that he first engaged in a conspiracy to overturn the existing government, and to restore Louis XVIII., but afterwards preferred assuming the office of Dictator himself, and was making exertions for that purpose. In an exculpatory letter written by Moreau to the First Consul, he acknowledged that distant overtures had been made to him, to enter into correspondence with the French Princes: but to those proposals, which appeared to him to be ridiculous, he returned no answer. The part of giving information to government, he said, was repugnant to his character, as such an office was always judged of severely; that it becomes odious, and it is marked with the seal of reprobation against the individual who exercises it. Duty, he observed, might sometimes yield to public opinion.

Such was the substance of General Moreau's letter. If he were conscious of the integrity of his conduct, he should have demanded to be brought before a public tribunal. His great and well-merited popularity would have confirmed a just assertion of his innocence. The truth appears to be, that he was privy to the conspiracy against the government and person of Bonaparte; but that there was not the least evidence that he had ever taken any active part in perpetrating the designs of the

conspirators. After some delay, Moreau was permitted to embark for the United States of America, where he remained till 1813, when the sovereigns of Europe, duly appreciating his talents, called him from exile, and gave him a distinguished rank in their military councils.

The seizure of the Duke D'Enghien, before-mentioned, took place at Ettenheim, on the Rhine, in the night of the 15th of March, 1804, when Ordener, one of Bonaparte's generals, crossed that river in three divisions. The guards of the Elector finding all resistance useless, opened the gates of Ettenheim, where the French troops seized the Duke, and a few old priests and invalids that lived with him, and putting him in irons, repassed the river, and conveyed him to France. Several notes on this unusual seizure, and on the violation of the neutrality of the German empire, were delivered both to the Diet of Ratisbon, and addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs. Those by far the most spirited, came from the Russian, Swedish, and Hanoverian ministers.

Another report from the French grand judge, issued soon after, complained that the British minister at the court of Munich, was engaged in a conspiracy with persons whose object was to overthrow the government of France: that these agents had been supplied with large sums of money by the British government, which was to be used in gaining over persons employed in the powder-mills in France, and in taking every measure to disorganize the armies, &c. The principal object of M. Regnier, the grand judge, was to implicate Mr. Drake, the British envoy at Munich, in a participation in the plans of Georges and his adherents. Some of the representatives of foreign states condemned the conduct of the British envoy in strong terms of severe reprehension, particularly the Danish and the American ministers.

On the 31st of March, a note was addressed to Mr. Drake from Baron Montgelas, prime minister to the

Elector of Bavaria, expressive of the regret of his Serene Highness, that his capital should have been made a central point of criminal correspondence, so inconsistent with the mission with which Mr. Drake was invested; and intimating that it was due to his own dignity to declare, that from the present moment, it was no longer in his power to prolong the residence of Mr. Drake in the Bavarian territories; and Mr. Spencer Smith, British envoy to the Elector of Wirtemburg, who was stated to have been implicated in these transactions, was also under the necessity of quitting Stuttgard.

The impression made by these transactions in every court of Europe, rendered it necessary that some notice should be taken of them by the British government. Accordingly a circular was addressed by Lord Hawkesbury to each of the foreign ministers resident at the court of London. In this his lordship maintained, that any accredited minister holding correspondence with persons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpose, would do no more than had been uniformly done by other ministers under similar circumstances, and which they considered they had a right to do with respect to the countries with which their sovereigns were at war.

This position of Lord Hawkesbury was commented upon in a circular note from M. Talleyrand; in which he asserted, "that diplomatic agents had at all times been considered as ministers of peace,—organs of conciliation,—but the British government wished to make them the instigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors of machinations, vile spies, cowardly seducers, the fomentors of seditions, the paymasters of assassins;" and this note concluded with a threat, that Bonaparte would not recognize the English diplomatic body on the Continent, unless the government restrained it within the limits of its functions.

Soon after this, on the night of the 24th of October, 1804, a body of two hundred and fifty French troops landed from Harburgh, between Hamburgh and Altona, and proceeded to the house of Sir George Rumbold, the British minister, whom they seized, together with his papers, and afterwards conveyed to Paris. Having been confined in the Temple about three days, he was conducted towards the coast of the channel, and compelled to enter into a stipulation not to return to Hamburgh. He was then, with his servant, conveyed in a carriage to Boulogne, and afterwards to Cherbourg, from whence he embarked in a flag of truce, and landed at Portsmouth. The French minister at Hamburgh endeavoured to justify the seizure of Sir George Rumbold, upon the ground of his being concerned with Mr. Drake at Munich.

But neither internal conspiracies nor external wars, appear to have diverted the mind of the First Consul in the least, from prosecuting the schemes of his ambition. To secure himself the permanent exercise of sovereign power, after the chief magistracy had been conferred on him for ten years, he seemed to think the title of First Consul was too simple to convey an adequate idea of the dignified elevation to which he had been raised. Equally ambitious of undivided power and titular splendour, he really aspired to the Imperial purple. Thus a soldier of fortune, who, at the commencement of the French revolution, was an obscure individual serving in the army of the republic, was successively promoted to the highest rank, and after obtaining the chief authority in the state, was invested with the title of Emperor of the French.

The measure of conferring on Bonaparte this rank and title, and making them hereditary in his family, according to the laws of primogeniture, was for the first time agitated in the Tribunate in the beginning of May; when M. Curée submitted a proposition to that effect.

M. Carnot also strongly opposed this measure, which, however, was carried on the 3d of May, when the Tribunate proceeded to vote,

"That Napoleon Bonaparte, the First Consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French Republic. That the title of Emperor, and the Imperial power, be made hereditary in his family, in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture: that in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity."

This decree being put to the vote, was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of the vote of one member, who spoke against its adoption.

On the 18th of May the Senate, in an address presented to the First Consul, entreated him to consent, that, for the glory and happiness of the republic, he might be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French.

After Napoleon had given his consent, the Senate was admitted to an audience of her Majesty the Empress, when the Consul Cambaceres addressed her on the part of that body. The *Organic Senatûs* was then proclaimed by the Emperor. His Imperial Majesty nominated to the dignity of Grand Elector, Prince Joseph Bonaparte; to to that of Constable, Prince Louis Bonaparte; to that of Arch-chancellor of the Empire, the Consul Le Brun. The Arch-chancellor, the Arch-treasurer, the Constable, the Ministers, the Secretary of State, and General Duroc, Governor of the Imperial palace, took their oaths before the Emperor. On the 20th of May the Emperor decreed the following Generals to be Marshals of the empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lasnes, Mortier, Ney, Da-

voust, and Bessieres. The title of Marshal was also given to the senators Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serrurier.

The question, whether the throne should, or should not be hereditary, was submitted to the people, who, as might have been expected, decided in the affirmative by an immense majority.

About this time Louis XVIII. issued a protest against Bonaparte's assumption to the Imperial title, as well as against all the subsequent acts to which it might give birth. This protest was dated, Warsaw.

On the 9th of July Bonaparte issued an Imperial decree, directing that the oath should be taken, and the coronation ceremonies performed in the Champ de Mars on the 18th Brumaire, or 9th of November, the day on which the power of the Directory had been subverted by Bonaparte, and the consular power established on its ruins.

In order to heighten the solemnity of the occasion, the Pope was sent for, and left the Vatican on the 3d of November, accompanied by four Cardinals, two Archbishops, and a numerous suite. The journey of the Sovereign Pontiff was distinguished by the homage paid him by the faithful in Italy and France, as head of the church. Having arrived at Fontainebleau on the 25th of November, he was met by Napoleon at a place called *la Croix de St. Herens,* and arrived on the 29th of November at the Tuilleries, where apartments had been prepared for him, escorted by a strong guard of French troops, and two hundred and fifty hussars, who were ordered to meet him on the frontiers of the French territory.

Circumstances arose, which made it necessary to defer the ceremony of the coronation till the 2d of December. Early on the morning of the preceding day, the Senate went in a body to the Tuilleries, where they were presented by Joseph Bonaparte. The president Neufchateau made a complimentary speech, to which the Emperor re-

plied, "I ascend the throne to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom from the midst of camps I first saluted with the name of great. From my youth my thoughts have been solely fixed on them; and I must here add, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws, and confusion of social order, are the result only of the imbecility and indecision of princes. You senators, whose counsel and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors. Be ever the support and first counsellors of that throne so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."

The weather on the 2d of December was extremely unfavourable; snow had fallen on the preceding evening, but on the following morning the sun rose extremely bright.

In the midst of an immense concourse of spectators, and of a procession of the most imposing appearance, the Pope, Napoleon, and Josephine his spouse, attended the church of Notre Dame, where Pius VII. officiated with all the pomp of the Roman church. The new Emperor had presented to the Cathedral the sacred vases of vermillion enriched with diamonds, and magnificently ornamented, and generally with every thing necessary for the celebration of the coronation, which was accordingly performed on Sunday the 2d of December, 1804. The military deputations assembled at six in the morning, and proceeded to the church of Notre Dame by seven. The deputations from the different tribunals of justice, and the functionaries invited by the Emperor, met at the palace of

Justice by seven, and walked to the church, where they arrived before eight. They were succeeded by the Senate, the Council of State, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunate, each escorted by a corps of cavalry. The diplomatic corps had a place assigned them in the church. The Pope left the Tuilleries at nine o'clock, and at ten the departure of the Emperor from the palace was announced by a discharge of artillery. Here we may remark, that never before had a Pope been obliged to leave his own dominions for the purpose of crowning either emperor or king. It was reserved for the aspiring Napoleon thus to surpass all other crowned heads, in exacting obedience from the nominal head of the church, to whom all other monarchs had been in the constant habit of doing homage.

The Pope and the Emperor repaired to the Archiepiscopal palace, where his Holiness pronounced the usual prayers, while the Emperor put on the Imperial robes. They afterwards went in splendid procession to the church of Notre Dame. The coronation ornaments of Charlemagne were borne before Bonaparte, and he was preceded by Marshal Serrurier, carrying the ring of the Empress upon a cushion; Marshal Moncey, with a basket to receive the Empress's mantle. The Empress, with the Imperial mantle, was supported by the Princesses. Marshal Kellerman carried the crown of Charlemagne; Marshal Perignon his sceptre; General Beauharnois his Majesty's ring; Marshal Berthier the Imperial globe; and the Grand Chamberlain the basket to receive the Emperor's mantle. Bonaparte then entered the church of Notre Dame.

The Imperial throne and the altar were equi-distant from the centre of the church. Upon the throne was seated the Emperor in his ornaments; the Empress, on his right hand, was seated a step lower, in an arm chair. Two steps lower than the Emperor, on the left, were seated the two princes, with the two dignitaries of the empire at their left hand. The throne on which the Pope was seated, was raised

near the altar. At the moment their Majesties entered the porch, the Pope descended from his throne, and advancing to the altar, sang *Veni Creator*. The Emperor and the Empress then said prayers upon their cushions, and were immediately divested of their Imperial ornaments. The Grand Elector took off the crown from his Majesty's head; the Arch-chancellor took from him the hand of justice; other grand officers stripped him of the Imperial mantle, while he himself drew his sword, and delivered it to the Constable of the Empire. In the mean time the Empress's attendants took from her the Imperial mantle and ornaments, which, with all the other insignia, were placed upon the altar, for the purpose of being consecrated by the Pope.

Then followed the cermony of inauguration. The Grand Almoner of France, with the first of the French Cardinals and Archbishops, conducted their Imperial Majesties from the throne to the foot of the altar, there to receive the sacred unction. His Holiness bestowed a triple unction both on the Emperor and Empress; one on the head, the other two on the hands. They were then re-conducted to the throne, when the Pope performed the mass. His Holiness then said prayers separately over both crowns, the mantles, the sceptres, and the hand of justice. The Imperial mantles being consecrated, the Emperor and Empress put them on again, and the Emperor afterwards placed the crown on the head of the Empress. An eye witness to this coronation asserts, that immediately after the Pope had blessed the two crowns, Napoleon in a manner snatched that which was intended for him, placing it himself on his own head. Napoleon then took the other crown and placed it upon the head of Josephine, who remained upon her knees at the foot of the altar. After this the Pope, preceded by the Master of the Ceremonies, followed the Emperor from the altar to the throne, where, having pronounced a prayer, he kissed

the Emperor on the cheek, and cried aloud to the audience, "*Vivat Imperatur in æturnum!*"

When divine service was finished, the Emperor sitting with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the Gospels, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies pronounced the oath prescribed, before the three presidents of the Senate, the Legislative Corps and the Tribunate. After this, the principal herald at arms cried aloud—"The most glorious and most august Emperor Napoleon, Emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned!"

At this instant the roof of the church of Notre Dame resounded with the repeated cries of "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive l'Imperatrice!*"—The Pope was then re-conducted by his clergy, and the procession returned nearly in the same order as it came.

On the following day the heralds at arms proceeded through all the principal streets, distributing a great quantity of medals of different sizes, intended to commemorate the coronation. On one side of the medals the Emperor was represented, bearing the crown of the Cæsars, with this legend, *Napoleon Empereur;* on the reverse was the inscription, *Le Senat et le Peuple,* with an allegorical representation of a figure clothed in the attributes of magistracy, and a warrior newly clothed with the Imperial attributes.

Some time before Napoleon's coronation, he related, that the Pope wished to see him, and made it a point to visit him in person. "He had made many concessions: he had come to Paris for the purpose of crowning me; he consented not to place the crown on my head; he dispensed with the ceremony of the public communion. He expected many compensations in return: he at first dreamed of Romagna and the Legations, but he began to suspect he should be obliged to give up all that. He then lowered his pretensions to a very trifling favour, as he called it, of Napoleon's signature to an ancient docu-

ment, *a worn out rag*, which he held from Louis XIV.—'Do me that favour,' said he; 'in fact, it signifies nothing.'—'Cheerfully, most Holy Father, and the thing is done, if it be feasible.' It was, however, a declaration, in which Louis XIV. at the close of his life, seduced by Madame de Maintenon, or prevailed upon by his confessors, expressed his disapprobation of the celebrated articles of 1682, the foundations of the liberties of the Gallican church. The Emperor shrewdly replied, that he had not, for his own part, any personal objection, but that it was requisite for him, as a matter of form, to speak to the Bishops about it; on which the Pope repeatedly observed, that such a communication was by no means necessary, and that the thing did not deserve so much publicity. '1 shall never,' he remarked, 'shew the signature; it shall be kept as secret as that of Louis XIV.'—'But if it signifies nothing,' said Napoleon, 'what use will there be in having my signature? And if any signification can be drawn from it, I am bound by a sense of propriety, to consult my doctors.'"

This formal assumption of the Imperial dignity by Bonaparte, gave a new turn to the political affairs of Europe, especially as the Emperor Francis, in consequence of previous negotiations, had sanctioned a decree, issued from Vienna, by which the title of Emperor of Germany was changed for that of Emperor of Austria. It was urged, that upon conferring upon his family an hereditary Imperial title, he was following the example of Russia in the last century, and that of France in the present day. When this was announced to the Diet of Ratisbon, it excited no attention, except from the Swedish envoy, who thought this measure was not to be laid before the Diet as a notification, but as a subject for deliberation.

The prospect of peace on the Continent was soon overclouded by an energetic note, which had been presented to the Diet of Ratisbon from the Emperor of Russia, on

the seizure of the Duke D'Enghien. To this, the French minister replied, in a tone of lofty indifference, "that the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia were undoubtedly the two powers most concerned in the fate of the German empire; and the German princes being satisfied, Napoleon felt himself in no way responsible to the Emperor of Russia, on a point which did not concern his interest; and if it were the intention of his Majesty to recommence the war, what need was there of empty pretences, and why did he not act openly?"

The departure of General Hedouville from Petersburg, and much angry correspondence, followed between the French and Russian ministers at Paris, in which Sweden also became a party against France, though fortunately the subsisting relations of commerce between France and the north, were allowed to remain uninterrupted. But towards the close of the year 1804, the Emperor Alexander, after his diplomatic correspondence had been closed for some time with Bonaparte, entered into very active negotiations with the British government, at the head of which Mr. Pitt was again placed, with a determination to signalize his administration by some extraordinary effort.

But while many were in daily expectation of being again disturbed by the din of arms, Napoleon was by no means unmindful of the arts of peace. Some months before his coronation, he had expressed his wish of transmitting to posterity, a picture of the grand ceremony, by a work worthy of the high fame of the artist.

M. David eagerly embraced the proposal. Immediately the Emperor sent for Prince Murat, then governor of Paris, and for Count Segur, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and in the presence of his first painter, ordered them to chuse the most convenient place for him, to see the whole ceremony, and to draw it with exactness.

The place selected, was above the chief altar, so that

the painter could see perfectly the choir of the church, in which the coronation was to be performed, and in which all the distinguished persons intended to be present, were to be assembled.

Immediately after the ceremony, M. David, full of his subject, went home and sketched out the design of his work. The rough draught was made on the proportion of 18 inches by 12. The picture is 33 feet long, and 21 high.

The greatest known picture in the world, the Nuptials of Cana, by Paul Veronese, is only 33 feet long, and 18 high. This size renders it difficult to find a room large enough for the exhibition of a picture which contains 210 persons, of whom near eighty are represented from head to foot. Many of the likenesses are very striking.

This work was the result of four years' labour. On the one hand, the opposition of the Romish clergy; on the other, the Emperor's orders, sometimes very difficult to put in harmony with the exact truth; and also the pretensions of powerful men, who were all ambitious of the most conspicuous place, increased the difficulties of the execution.

The Cardinal Caprara, for instance, who appears bareheaded, wished to have his wig on, such being the custom followed in Romish ceremonials: M. David was desirous of painting quite bare, a head, the colour of which promised so beautiful an effect.

In like manner, the Emperor had ordered the Turkish envoy to be exhibited with all the other ambassadors: to this the envoy objected, because the law of the Koran forbade his entrance into a Christian church. After many negotiations, and a great loss of time, he gave his consent, under the consideration that the post and character of ambassador belongs to all religions.

M. David was often interrupted in his work by the foreign artists at Paris, who were daily soliciting the

permission of being admitted into his painting-room. It was difficult to resist so flattering an eagerness. Camucini, the prince of the Roman school, and the famous statuary Canova, daily made use of that permission. Camucini, at his last visit, found the artist surrounded by many of his scholars, all of them profoundly silent, in admiration of his composition. On taking leave of M. David, the Italian painter bowed to him, with these remarkable words: *Adio, il più bravo pittore di scholari ben bravi.*

On his return to Rome, Canova, to fulfil what he esteemed a duty towards the author of this astonishing work, proposed to the Academy of St. Luke, to receive him as an honorary member. Impelled by their esteem for M. David, the Academicians set aside all their usual forms, and unanimously elected him. Canova was chosen to acquaint M. David with that particular circumstance of his nomination.

The picture was finished about the month of November 1807. Previous to its public exposition, the Emperor appointed a day to see it himself; it was on the 4th of January 1808. Accordingly, on that day, and to honour the artist the more, he proceeded in state, attended by a detachment of cavalry and military music, accompained by the Empress, and the Princes and Princesses of his family, and followed by his ministers and the great officers of the crown, to the painting-room, where M. David was in waiting to receive him.

In the meantime the passions were at work. Severe criticisms had already reached the Emperor and his court. The picture (according to some) was not the Emperor's coronation, but that of the Empress. Under the impossibility of describing all the ceremonies which he had witnessed (and the most interesting part of them being that in which the three chief personages of the piece were acting), the artist chose for his work, the moment in which the

Emperor places the crown on the head of his consort: his reason for this preference was, that if he had represented Napoleon taking the crown from the altar, the Pope, and the Empress herself, would have been only witnesses of an act in itself undoubtedly very solemn, but one with which their presence had no necessary connexion; the coronation of his spouse, on the contrary, supposed that that of her Imperial husband was already over. The Emperor was then acting as master and sovereign. The Empress was receiving the insignia of the state conferred on her; and the Pope was performing the religious functions for which his presence had been required.

This idea, therefore, which at first had been so much criticized, was fully approved by the Emperor, to whom indeed the original conception of the artist had already been submitted. After having observed, and attentively examined the work, Napoleon said:

"M. David, this is very well, very well indeed: you have guessed my whole thought; the Empress, my Mother, the Emperor, are all most properly placed; you have made me a French Knight, and I am pleased that you have thus transmitted to future ages the proofs of affection I wished to give to the Empress." And, after an instant of silence, his hat on, the Empress standing on his right hand, M. David on his left, and the picture in front, the Emperor advanced two steps, and facing the author, pulled of his hat, and bowing profoundly, "M. David," said he, raising his voice, "I salute you."

"Sire," answered the painter, "I receive the compliment of the Emperor in the name of all the artists of his empire; happy myself, in being the one whom you deign to make the channel of such an honour."

When, in the month of October 1808, the picture was placed in the Museum, the Emperor wished to see it again. M. David accordingly attended him in the hall of the Louvre, surrounded by many of his pupils. After con-

ferring the decoration of the Legion of Honour on the most distinguished of them, whom, at the Emperor's desire, M. David had pointed out to him, "It is fit," said Napoleon, "that I testify my satisfaction to the master of so many distinguished artists; I promote you, therefore, to be officer of the Legion of Honour. M. Duroc, give a golden decoration to M. David."—"Sire, I have none with me."—"No matter," replied Napoleon, "don't let this day pass without executing my order."

The Grand Maréchal, although no friend to M. David, was obliged to obey; and, on the same evening the insignia was sent to the painter.

Not content with honouring the artist himself, the Emperor was pleased to see his esteem for him shared by all the great persons who appeared at his court. The King of Wirtemburg, at his suggestion, came to see M. David's work. On being shewn the picture of the coronation, astonished at the luminous brightness spread over the group, in which are placed the Pope and Cardinal Caprara; "I did not believe," said the king to the painter, "that your art could operate such wonders. White and black, in painting, afford but very weak resources. When you produced such an effect, doubtless you must have had a sun-beam upon your pencil."

Such a compliment discovered a peculiar and perfect knowledge of the art. M. David, astonished, after many thanks, added, "Sire, your reflection, and your way of expressing it, bespeak the artist, or the well-informed amateur. Your Majesty has then learned to paint?"—"Yes," answered the king, "I sometimes occupy myself with that art; and all my brothers possess a similar taste. The one who very often calls upon you, has obtained some success in it. His performances are not at all like royal paintings, they are worthy of an artist. M. David," added he, "I dare not hope to obtain a copy of this picture; but you may indemnify me, by placing my name at the

head of the subscribers to the engraving. Pray, don't forget me."

The fifth of December was consecrated to the distribution of the new colours that were to conduct the warriors of the empire to victory. This ceremony took place in the Champ de Mars, a vast space, exciting many recollections of the most memorable periods of the revolution. The Emperor's throne was placed in an immense tribune, equal in height with the apartments in the palace of the military school, and on the right and left were benches for the three corps of the state, and the most distinguished personages in the empire. Deputations from different corps of the army, the marine, and the national guard, occupied the interior of the Champ de Mars; and a prodigious number of spectators filled the immense amphitheatre within the limits. At a given signal, all the columns of the army were in motion, and approached the throne, at the foot of which were the different flags and standards, surmounted by eagles, and borne by the officers and presidents of the electoral colleges of the departments. The Emperor then standing up, pronounced the following address with great energy:

"Soldiers! Behold your colours: these eagles will always serve you as a rallying point, and they shall appear every where your Emperor shall judge necessary for the defence of his throne and his people.

"Will you swear to sacrifice your lives in their defence, to maintain them constantly by your courage in the path of victory?"—"We swear!" was at once repeated by an unanimous cry; the presidents of the colleges, and the officers at the same time waving the eagles in the air, which they were going to distribute among the brave warriors.

This being performed in the midst of the shouts of the multitude surrounding the Champ de Mars, they proceeded to the distribution of the new colours, which were again

saluted with redoubled acclamations by the soldiers who received them. For nine years successively, victory had constantly followed these Imperial eagles, and never abandoned them till Napoleon, insatiable of conquest, attempted to carry them through the frozen regions of the north.

About the middle of December the city of Paris gave a brilliant and superb banquet to their Imperial Majesties, followed by a distribution of bread, wine, and poultry, among the people in all the public places. On the 22d the Senate gave a *fête;* but news arrived of the refusal of the Ottoman Porte to acknowledge Napoleon as Emperor, upon which Marshal Brune quitted Constantinople.

Among the demonstrations made by Napoleon in 1804, those at Boulogne were the most prominent. It might have been remarked, that after he had occupied Hanover, he lost no time in exciting the ideas of an invasion of England. Orders were sent to repair the old batteries on the French coasts, or to establish new ones. The formation of an hundred companies of volunteer gunners was ordered, and several others of sedentary *gardes côtes,* composed as much as possible of men who had learned the use of artillery during the late war, but had retired from the service. The project of a descent on England was again put forward; and in the impatience of the First Consul to avenge British duplicity, he made an appeal to the French nation, and to its patriotism, still more energetic than that of 1801. The *delenda Carthago* became the favourite expression of every one who wished to pay his court to the Chief of the French government. Addresses poured in from all parts of France, professing devotion and attachment without limits.

According to the new plan adopted by the First Consul, he meant to make use of gun and flat-bottomed boats, in his projected descent; which, being principally managed with oars, might possibly escape the British

cruizers, as well as the shot of the larger vessels, from the smallness of their size, especially at a time of the year when fogs are so frequent in the channel, or when bad weather will not permit larger vessels to keep the narrow seas. An hundred and sixty thousand soldiers were to embark on board these frail barks, to land upon the British coast; and if this should succeed, the conquest of England was calculated upon as a certain and infallible consequence. This illusion for a time seemed to have turned all heads in France, and every citizen was willing to contribute something to this romantic undertaking.

Every corps of the army, which seemed most impatient of inaction, received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march upon the divers points of the coast, where the different divisions of the grand flotilla were to be collected; and the officers and soldiers had shewn themselves equally ready to contribute with their money or their blood, to the success of this gigantic expedition.

In the midst of these preparations, Bonaparte wished to reconnoitre the new theatre upon which he intended again to put the courage and constancy of the French to the proof. He left Paris on the 24th of June, 1804; after passing through Amiens, Abbeville, and Montreuil sur Mer, he arrived at Boulogne on the 1st of July; he then visited Borgues, Cassel, Ballieul, Armentiers, and Lisle, on the 7th of July. Taking his course afterwards towards Belgium, he successively visited Ypres, Nieuport, Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, in which tour he occupied fourteen days. At Antwerp he gave directions for forming a grand navigable canal, to communicate with the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt. This was his first essay for making Antwerp the grand *depôt* of all the commerce of the north of Europe, and which was afterwards completed. The enthusiasm of the Belgians was every where excited by Napoleon's presence, who were then more gratified by their re-union

with France than ever. The inhabitants of Brussels, Louvain, Maestricht, Liege, Namur, and Aix-la-Chapelle, testified the most unfeigned admiration and respect, equal to any he had received in Old France, which he again entered at Mezieres, traversing a part of Champaigne, through Charleville, Sedan, and Rheims, and returned to Paris on the 12th of August, after a six weeks' absence from that capital.

It was during another journey in this part of his dominions, that having experienced the intrepidity and bravery of British seamen, Napoleon paid them a just tribute, and generously rewarded them for the proofs they had given him of their superiority. He was at Givet with the Empress Marie Louise, and stopped at that place to rest. During the night, a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which swelled the Meuse so much, that the bridge of boats over it was carried away. Napoleon was very anxious to depart; and ordered all the boatmen in the place to be assembled, that he might be enabled to cross the river. They said the waters were so high, that it would be impossible to pass before two or three days. He questioned some of them, and soon discovered that they were fresh-water seamen. Napoleon then recollected, that there were English prisoners in the barracks, and ordered that some of the oldest and best seamen amongst them should be brought before him to the banks of the river. The waters were very high, and the current rapid and dangerous. He asked them if they could join a number of boats, so that he might pass. They answered, that it was possible, but hazardous. Napoleon desired them to set about it instantly. In the course of a few hours they succeeded in effecting what the other *imbecilles* had pronounced impossible; and he crossed before the evening was over. Napoleon ordered those who had worked at it to receive a sum of

money each, a suit of clothes, and their liberty. Marchand was with him at the time.

During the time that Bonaparte had been absent from Boulogne, the different camps that had been traced out more than two years, and were then occupied by the flower of the French army, exhibited a spectacle most remarkable, for the developement of the industry that had presided over their formation. Each camp resembled a city, where the commodities and conveniences of domestic life were united with the discipline and the austere manners that distinguish the French soldier, in what are called the *pleasure camps*. At Ostend, for example, the ground that lately presented only the spectacle of arid plains, stagnant waters, and a long chain of barren downs, now offered to the view of the astonished traveller, long avenues of barracks, elegant and substantial, green banks, columns, obelisks surmounted with the bust of the Emperor; while, for the first time, the spectator perceived delightful gardens, smiling parterres, and a perpetual verdure, created as it were by magic. Drains had been skilfully made into the dikes, which preserved the barracks from humidity; broad and handsome causeways preserved the communications with the neighbouring villages, and several limpid springs, besides offering a wholesome beverage, served to water and embellish the gardens. The arms, trophies, and inscriptions at the entrance of each camp, to the honour of the conqueror of Italy and the East, displayed a martial appearance. Streets traced out in lines, bearing the name of some illustrious warrior who had died with arms in his hands for the country, recalled several recent actions: besides statues, that well-practised artists need not blush for, and allegorical groups, that represented the happy alliance of the arts and sciences with victory.

Every regiment had its garden; every company its bed

of flowers, its kitchen-garden, and a well to water them. The soldier was nourished by pulse, &c. of his own growth; and seeing the increase of the labour of his hands every day, it was this, as well as discipline, that rendered him faithful to his colours; and besides, contributed to the preservation of his health. Under these operations, the immense downs had disappeared; the roughest soil had been levelled; and in fact, all the obstacles that Nature had multiplied upon a soil naturally inhospitable, had yielded to the taste and activity of these warriors; and a view of the different divisions of the flotilla, gave a finish to this extraordinary picture.

It being Napoleon's intention to present himself to his soldiers with all the pomp and parade that could attach to his new rank, he was followed by his brothers Joseph and Louis, by the grand dignitaries, and the great officers of the empire. Even the ministers themselves had been ordered to join the Emperor at the camp of Boulogne, where he held his court with as much splendour as at the palace of the Tuilleries, or at St. Cloud. The military manœuvres of the morning, were followed in the evening by dances, *fêtes*, and scenic displays; the latter, by some of the most celebrated actors in Paris.

In the midst of this extraordinary mixture of *fêtes* and military preparations, Napoleon passed nearly a month upon the coast near Boulogne. His presence tended to electrify every heart, and to give activity to all hands. He had mentioned the 15th of August, his birth-day, as the period for a solemnity, which, by its extraordinary splendour, was to equal or surpass every thing of the kind that had gone before. He also intended to make a grand distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour, not only among the army, but among a great number of functionaries whom he had invited to Boulogne for that purpose.

The French army was posted in the several camps, formed by barracks, behind Boulogne, and to the right and left of that place, bearing the names of Outreau, Boulogne, Wimill, and Ambleteuse. The palace, or rather the Emperor's barrack, constructed of wood, was in advance of the camp on the right; near to this, was the ground chosen for the display of the *fête*, where an hundred thousand men might contribute to, and enjoy this imposing spectacle.

The general plan was that of an ancient theatre, the seats of which were formed by the natural appearance of the ground. Twenty columns of infantry, presenting sixty men in front, upon an indeterminate height, were to represent the spectators; the intervals of the columns, the avenues, and the whole crowned by the cavalry, were intended to imitate the boxes of the ancient theatres. The pit, as the place reserved for the performance of the ceremony, was to admit none but the staff officers: here were the standards of the different corps, placed in advance of the legionaries who were to take the oaths. A furrow or ravine of fifty toises, gave to this theatre the appearance of an hundred feet; in the centre of which, the throne of the Emperor was raised. On one side of this, was the Imperial guard, and on the other the orchestra.

The throne was formed of an eminence in the antique taste, resembling those of the Roman camps, upon which the emperors used to harangue the army, and such as the medals have transmitted to us under the denomination of *allocutions*.

This square platform, sixteen feet by eight, was surrounded by standards and colours surmounted by golden eagles. Upon some steps in the centre, was placed the ancient seat of King Dagobert; above which, in the form of a canopy, they had placed a trophy of arms, composed of flags, colours and standards taken in the battles of

Montenotte, Lodi, Arcole, Rivoli, Castiglione, the Pyramids, Mount Tabor, Aboukir, and Marengo. In the midst of this group was some armour belonging to the Electors of Hanover, the whole surmounted by an immense crown of laurel in gold, over which waved the purple tails of the flags taken from the Beys in Egypt.

The decorations that were to be distributed to the legionaries, had been placed in the Casque of Du Guesclin, and the buckler of Bayard, and were carried by the adjutants-general and colonels of the staff.

On the 15th of August, the sun, which had been concealed by thick clouds on the preceding evening, appeared in the horizon in all its splendour. At nine the *generale* was beat in all the camps, and the troops advancing in columns, occupied the space assigned them. This movement was executed with admirable precision. At noon the Emperor left his barrack, and proceeded to his place under a salute from all the batteries. The beating of two thousand drums at this instant, could not prevent the acclamations of the soldiers and the people from being heard, expressive of the enthusiasm which his presence excited. A roll of the drums having announced that the ceremony was going to begin, silence every where took place. The Emperor seated himself on his throne, whilst his brothers Joseph and Louis, the grand-admiral Murat, the ministers, the marshals of the empire, the great officers of the crown, and the senators, ranged themselves on each side: behind was a captain from each corps of the army, with his colours displayed; the Emperor's aides-de-camp were placed upon the sixteen steps of the throne, to receive and transmit his orders; lower down the legionaries were seen; over their heads were two trophies, formed in a similar manner to that which surmounted the chair of King Dagobert; that is to say, of standards taken from the enemy.

The colonels of the staff, who carried the decorations that the Emperor meant to distribute, had arrived at the places assigned them, and had seen on their way both officers and soldiers bowing respectfully, and saluting with a religious emotion the crest of the hero of Brittany, and the shield of the Chevalier *sans peur et sans reproche*. The grand-chancellor of the empire having received the orders of the Emperor, then delivered a discourse adapted to the occasion. After this, a second roll of the drums again called attention, when Napoleon, rising from his seat, pronounced the formula of the oath which the legionaries were to take, and who unanimously cried out, "We swear it!" when, by a kind of spontaneous motion, the whole army repeated this oath of fidelity and devotion. The cries of "*Vive l'Empereur Napoleon!*" resounded from all ranks, whilst the soldiers held up their arms in the air. The great officers, the commandants, the legionaries, and others, then approached the throne in succession, and received individually from the hands of the Emperor the decoration of the Legion. The aspect of this brilliant army, the forts, the camps, the rocks resounding, with the dashing of the waves and noise of the cannon; the sun dispensing its rays, the sea ploughed in the distance by the British cruizers, were objects certainly calculated to excite sentiments in the beholders, very difficult to express.

At the moment when the columns of infantry were deploying, and extending upon the coast for the purpose of defiling in platoons before the throne, a division of fifty sail, the advance guard of the flotilla of Havre, appeared off Cape Alpreck. All eyes were immediately directed towards the sea, then, as it were, paying its tribute to the Emperor Napoleon. This convoy had been expected with impatience for some months.

At four in the afternoon the Emperor retired, with the same salutes and acclamations that greeted his first ap-

pearance; and the day was concluded with sumptuous banquets given by Joseph Bonaparte, the ministers, and the principal officers of the army by sea and land, which were followed by balls, fire-works, &c.

After Napoleon had remained some time on the coast near Boulogne, he directed his march, as before observed, through Belgium, to visit his new departments on the Rhine, and arrived at Mentz, where he had invited the Empress Josephine to meet him. Here, as in every place he had passed through, he might have been seen applying his creating eye to the purpose of relieving the necessities of the people, suggesting useful projects for the public good, in the ameliorations or embellishments that he thought necessary. From Mentz he arrived at Paris on the 12th of October. It may be justly observed, that in Napoleon's journies into the interior, he always had the national prosperity in view. Far from dreading his visits, the people looked upon them as advantages. The presence of this warlike monarch in any of the departments, without being expensive to them, like the visits of an idle prince, always benefited the administrations: they became the source of new erections, new labours favourable to the progress of industry, agriculture, or commerce.

The situation of affairs in England at the end of the year 1804, and the alarm that the formidable preparations for a descent upon the soil of Great Britain had excited, led Napoleon to suppose that George III. would be more inclinable to peace than under circumstances less favourable, and induced him to take a step which, if crowned with success, might have rendered the commencement of the year 1805 one of the most remarkable epochs of the late reign. That this attempt was made by the French Emperor, and in a singular manner, will appear in the succeeding chapter.

CHAP. XV.

Letter of Napoleon to George the Third—Remarks by an able Statesman—Increase of the Military Power of France —Alteration in the Sentiments of the Emperor Alexander, who concludes a Treaty with Great Britain—The new Kingdom of Italy—Bonaparte's Visit to Milan, and Coronation—Description of the Iron Crown—Address to the Senators—Genoa annexed to France—Piombino and Lucca given to the Emperor's Sister, married to M. Bacciocci, a Corsican Officer, who is created a Prince— Boulogne again visited by Bonaparte—Flotilla dismantled, and the Army withdrawn from the Coast—Napoleon's Address to the Senate—Leaves Paris, and arrives at Strasburgh—Movements of the French Armies—Napoleon visits the Princess Royal of England at Stuttgard —Official Bulletins—Addresses of the Emperor to the Soldiers—Surrender of Ulm—Napoleon at Munich— Brannau—Anecdote—The Emperor of Germany—Remarks on the English Oligarchy—Passage of the Traun and the Enns—Affairs of Amstetten, Marienzell—The Abbey of Moelk—Anecdotes—Vienna evacuated by the Austrians—Battle of Diernstein—Skill and Bravery of Major Henriod—Omissions in the Bulletins—French Troops pass through Vienna—The Emperor Napoleon's Residence in the Palace of Schoenbrunn—Affair of Hollebrun—Battle of Tuntersdorf—Head-quarters at Znaim— A ruse de guerre*—Prince Dolgerucki's Interview with Napoleon—Order of the Day before that of the Battle of Austerlitz—Devotion of the Soldiers—Napoleon's Address to them the day after the Battle, &c.*

THE measure adopted by Bonaparte, as a consequence of his elevation to the Imperial dignity, was to

transmit new overtures to the British government, in the form of a letter written by his own hand, and addressed to his Britannic Majesty. This unusual mode of communication, which he had before adopted on his accession as First Consul, was chosen, from a professed desire to disengage so important a transaction from the intrigues of cabinets and the perplexities and delays of diplomacy. This letter was couched in the following terms:

"SIR, AND BROTHER,

"Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity. They may contend for ages; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties, and will not so much blood shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences? I consider it no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world, that I fear none of the chances of war; it, besides, presents nothing that I need to fear; peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your Majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children; for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. The moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war which all my efforts will not be able to terminate? Your Majesty has gained more in ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war? To form a coalition with some powers of the Continent? The Continent will remain tranquil:

a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France.—To renew intestine troubles? The times are no longer the same.—To destroy our finances? Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture, can never be destroyed.—To take from France her colonies? The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your Majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve?—If your Majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect, to fight merely for the sake of fighting. The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover the means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your Majesty will believe the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it, &c.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

As it was not customary for an English sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, an answer was returned by Lord Mulgrave, addressed to the French minister. The secretary of state for foreign affairs, intimated his Majesty's wish to procure the blessings of peace on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe; but stated the impracticability of more fully meeting the overture now made, until communications had been held with the powers of the Continent, with whom his Majesty was engaged in confidential connections and relations, particularly the Emperor of Russia.

But though the republic of France, which during twelve years had assumed so many different forms, was now considered as extinct, yet, like the Phœnix, it had produced a new empire, which, being founded princi-

pally by the power of the sword, was of course more dreaded by other nations than its parents.

An able statesman (Mr. Burke) had several years before remarked, that the French republic would become the prey of the first ambitious chieftain who might have sufficient boldness to avail himself of a fortunate train of circumstances in seizing the government; and this prediction found its fulfilment in the elevation of Napoleon to the Imperial purple. Many years of active warfare, and the complete destruction of the commerce of France, had given a military character to nearly the whole of her population. Not only were the ambitious projects of Louis XIV. now realized, but greatly exceeded; and the establishment of an empire, as extensive as that of Charlemagne, was a favourite object both with the government and the people. The union of all the powers of the state in Napoleon, had increased the vigour of the nation, both in its foreign and internal regulations; whilst his activity and military talents, insured a prompt and universal obedience to his will. To the armies he was uncommonly endeared; and the assumption of the Imperial dignity, by enabling him to confer new honours upon his adherents, increased and confirmed their attachment. At this period, the military force of France amounted to upwards of six hundred thousand men; and this army, by the laws of the conscription, and the formation of the national guard, was capable of very considerable augmentation.

The transmission of Napoleon's letter to the King of England, was not known at Paris till the 4th of February; it had been kept a secret between the Emperor and his minister Talleyrand; but the continued silence of the British ministry on the subject, having induced the opinion, that the question, not being agreeable, would be decided in the British councils in the negative, Napoleon ordered his minister of foreign affairs to lay a copy

of the King's answer to it before the three chambers of the Legislature, together with the evasive communication of Lord Melville on the same subject.

The principal ground of this hostile disposition on the part of England, evidently arose from the alteration of the sentiments of the Emperor Alexander with respect to France and Napoleon. This began to appear about the month of April, 1804, whilst the proceedings were carrying on in France against Georges and Pichegru. General Hedouville, the French ambassador at Petersburg, had received his letters of recall about the beginning of June; and as the Russian ambassador had also quitted Paris, no agent of the government remained there but M. D'Oubril, as chargé d'affaires, who on the 21st of July, presented a note, containing demands equal to a declared rupture; and which having been concerted with England, were calculated to take effect whenever this power should be disposed to widen the breach between itself and France. The Emperor Alexander required that he should be permitted to act as an arbitrator in the affairs of Italy, and particularly with respect to the King of Naples; he demanded indemnities for the King of Sardinia's loss of Piedmont, and the evacuation of the electorate of Hanover by the French. These propositions appeared exceedingly out of time, at the moment when the cabinet of St. Petersburg, thus arrogantly claiming a right to intermeddle with the affairs of France, and according to its own expressions, "to force moderation," had itself, without any right, or even pretext, seized upon a part of Armenia, made preparations for the invasion of some of the Persian provinces, and sent a corps of ten thousand men into the republic of the Seven Isles, in the Ionian sea, in opposition to the treaties concluded by the great powers of Europe, which had declared this republic free and independent.

M. D'Oubril having formally exchanged some other

notes with the French ministry, demanded his passports, which he received about the end of August. The French *chargé d'affaires* at St. Petersburg quitted that city on the 26th of September.

The object Napoleon had in view, in communicating his correspondence with the King of Great Britain to his Chamber, was in order to prove to the people that he had neglected no means of putting an end to the war. Consequently, his generosity, greatness of mind, and moderation, were exalted to the skies; while the responsibility of the continuation of hostilities was reasonably ascribed to England.

In May, 1805, the storm, which had again been raised against France, began to overspread the political horizon. On the 11th of April, Russia concluded a treaty with Great Britain, by virtue of which, in consideration of a subsidy, she undertook to set on foot an army of a hundred and eighty thousand men, and form a coalition, with a view to the rescuing Hanover from France, withdrawing the influence of that power from Switzerland and Holland, and giving what was termed *a frontier* to Austria; to effect the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples by the French, and replace the King of Sardinia on the throne of Piedmont.

Though Austria had officially complimented Napoleon upon his new dignity, that power did not seem to entertain more favourable dispositions towards France, than its declared enemies; but willingly lent an ear to agents employed to draw her into the new league then in agitation. Great activity was soon observed in the Aulic Council of War at Vienna, followed by a continual movement of troops in the empire; and, under pretext of establishing a cordon to check the progress of an epidemic disease then raging at Leghorn, an Austrian army was assembled upon the Adige.

It was impossible Napoleon could be duped by the pacific assurances forwarded, in answer to his representations on that subject, from the court of Vienna; the English papers too clearly explained the real object of Austria. Napoleon, however, intended to wait the course

of events, and leave to the Austrian monarch the odium of having first broken the peace.

In the meantime, Bonaparte's principal attention was directed towards Italy, naturally suspecting that the first hostilities would break out upon the Adige. The French troops in that country had orders to keep on the *qui vive;* while, in order to encourage the Italians, who had shaken off the Austrian yoke, Napoleon no longer hesitated in placing upon his head the iron crown of the kings of the Lombards. In reality, as he had established royalty in France, he could not think of suffering a republic to subsist in the north of Italy; and as, during his Consulship, he had prepared the French for an imperial regimen, he had also brought the Italian republic into such a state, that it was impossible to preserve its independence. From its first existence, this Republic had been led, as it were, in leading-strings; but, from the moment Napoleon was declared Emperor of France, a change in the Italian constitution was to be expected. He then found the title of President no longer in harmony with that of Emperor; added to which, he was desirous Italy should be more nearly connected with France than ever. In fact, from the moment he had proclaimed himself Emperor of the French, the change intended for Italy might have been expected.

In order to be more certain of the assent of his new subjects, Bonaparte pursued the same means as he had adopted in the year 1802. He summoned the Italian Consulta to meet him at Paris, for the professed purpose of adding those modifications and changes which times and circumstances had rendered necessary.

On the 17th of March, M. de Melzi, vice-president of the Italian republic, arrived at Paris, at the head of a deputation from the Cisalpine republic, in order to express its cordial acquiescence in a monarchical and hereditary government; and also the desire that, Napoleon being proclaimed King of Italy, would not suffer a year to elapse ere he proceeded to be crowned at Milan. A few days

were sufficient for the completion of the wishes of the Emperor and those deputies; to whom, and to the electoral colleges, he then caused the oath of fidelity to be administered. Flattered by this reception, M. Melzi said, "You desired, Sire, that the Italian republic should exist, and it had existence. Wish that the Italian monarchy may be happy, and it will be so." After a short pause, Bonaparte replied, by reminding the deputies that to him their country was indebted for the original establishment of its independence, when he expatiated upon the interest he had always taken in its welfare. "I shall," said he, "keep this crown only so long as your interests may require it; and I shall see with pleasure the moment arrive, when I can place it on the head of some younger person, animated by my spirit, and equally anxious to provide for your happiness and security."

It was stipulated, that the throne of Italy should be hereditary in the male line, both natural and adopted; but that the right of adoption should not extend to any other person than a citizen of the French empire, or the kingdom of Italy; and that the crown should not be united to that of France, except upon the head of the then Emperor.

Napoleon, on the 1st of April, visited the southern departments of his empire, passing through Piedmont, which had been united to France in 1802, and made his entry into Milan, the capital of his new kingdom, on the 8th of May. The fear which the Italians entertained of the Austrians was so great, that Napoleon was received like a guardian angel, being met by an immense crowd, and everywhere welcomed by triumphal arches, ornamented with ingenious emblems, in honour of the new Sovereign and the Empress Josephine, who accompanied him—all appearing to indicate that the Italians were as willing to submit to the imperial yoke as had been the French people.

The ceremony of the coronation, and the anointing of Napoleon and Josephine, as king and queen, took place in the cathedral of Milan, much in the same style, and with

similar ceremonies, as had been observed at Paris. The iron crown, formerly worn by the Lombard kings, had been carefully preserved in the monastery of Monza, and never taken from that depôt since the time of Charles V.; it was then removed with great pomp. Napoleon, on raising the same from the altar, in order to place it upon his own head, pronounced those words which have been since used as the device of the order of the Knights of the Iron Crown, which he then instituted—"*Dieu me la donne, gare a qui la touche.*" These chivalrous expressions were, however, more suitable to the eighth, than the eighteenth century. What is denominated the iron crown, is a diadem of pure gold, with points in the ancient manner. A small circle of iron being placed within the same, was the cause of its appellation of the iron crown, or *couronne de fer.**

* Being on the subject of a new elevation to power, we cannot do better than offer the following reflections in regard to this assumption of dignity by Napoleon, so recently proclaimed Emperor of the French people. Much having been said respecting the usurpation of the throne by Bonaparte, we will in few words make our readers acquainted with the situation in which France stood with the continental powers, previous and subsequent to his coronation; a document by no means unworthy the serious consideration of those who feel interested in the political events of Europe since the decapitation of Louis XVI.

After the death of Louis XVI., the flight of his brothers, and the demise of the Dauphin, the French being bound to no legitimate princes, made use of their natural right of election, and instituted such a form of government as they conceived necessary, under the existing order of things. From that period, all ties between France and the Bourbons were severed, and, in consequence, that family, politically speaking, had ceased to exist. The new government of France, so constituted, was recognised by all the powers:—in 1795, the treaty of Basil was signed between France and Prussia; on the 22d of July following, another treaty was ratified at the same place, between the French republic and Spain, which, on the 7th of June, 1796, was further cemented, and a treaty of alliance entered into with the Executive Directory. On the 15th of May, in the same year, Sardinia signed a treaty with the republican government, which, on the 15th of October, was followed by that of Naples. The Pope, the petty German States, and Italy, equally recognised the new order of things in France. The treaty of Campo Formio was signed with Austria under the Directory, and that of Luneville when Bonaparte filled the post of First Consul. Every power in succession equally ratified the Consular government, which upon the 1st Brumaire, tenth year of the Republic, proclaimed a general peace. England in turn, by the treaty of Amiens of the 1st of October, 1801, Spain by that of the 27th of March, 1802, and Russia on the 8th of October, of the same year, severally recognised the Consular government of France.

Upon Napoleon's being chosen Emperor, by the unanimous voice

After the ceremony of Napoleon's coronation, he proceeded to the church of St. Ambrose, to hear *Te Deum*, according to the ancient usage on such occasions; the following days being spent in effecting the necessary changes

of the people, Austria allowed his title by the treaty of Presburgh, signed the 26th of December, 1805; the same ratification elevating to regal dignity the sovereigns of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, who were at that epoch the allies of France. On the 11th of December, 1807, the Elector of Saxony equally received the title of king, by virtue of the treaty of Posen, concluded with Napoleon.

Did Europe, in any one instance, dispute the legitimacy of those titles ratified by the Emperor? Did she not recognise in him the imperial dignity, which France had voluntarily conferred? Prussia, by the treaty of Tilsit, signed on the 6th of July, 1807, acknowledged the French empire, and consequently Napoleon as Emperor. The autocrat of Russia, by virtue of the same treaty, not only allowed Napoleon the title of Emperor, but equally sanctioned the kingly rights of his brothers. In short, the treaties of the 14th of October, 1809, and the 6th of January, 1810, between France and Sweden, equally rendered valid the new dynasty placed upon the throne of France. From such incontrovertible evidence, it cannot for a moment be denied that the whole of Europe had become the ally of Napoleon. Some family alliances, between branches of that of the Emperor and several of the most illustrious houses of Europe, tended still more to consolidate the social compact established in France; and was it not after the guarantee of the Constitution of the French empire, and the various treaties contracted with the sovereigns and foreign powers, that *Maria Louisa*, Archduchess of Austria, became consort of the Emperor Napoleon, and gave birth to the imperial Prince *Charles Francis Napoleon, King of Rome?*

Wherefore then was Napoleon branded as an *usurper?* Royalty having been abolished in France, she was everywhere recognised as an empire. The reins of government were confided to Napoleon, who ascended a *vacant throne:* consequently, he could be *no usurper* under such circumstances. *Napoleon occupied the place of no one; he only dethroned the* DEMON OF ANARCHY. Upon his abdication, which was voluntarily made to spare the effusion of French blood and the horrors of civil war, did he not make his determination known to the allied powers, by the Dukes of Tarentum and of Vicenza, and by the Prince of Moskwa, stating that he resigned the crown in favour of his son? Was not this abdication deemed sufficient to ensure the peace of Europe, till by a succession of events those just resolves were revoked? Since the allies, then, merely waged war against Napoleon, why, after he had quitted France for ever, and the crown was placed on the head of his son, under his august mother, did they change the dynasty, and disappoint a people who cherished the offspring of their former ruler? Had not this been done, victims without number would still have existed to contemplate the felicity of France, the justice of the allies, and the resignation of the hero.

If Napoleon was not a *legitimate*, towards what European throne are we to direct our eyes, in order to hail the person of A LEGAL OCCUPANT?—The simple fact is, as the Emperor Napoleon himself expressed on a certain occasion, that "CHANCE *and* FORCE *are the only legitimate kings in the world.*"

in the new form of government. The constitutional act was published on the 5th of June, founded upon a basis nearly similar to that of the French empire.

On the same day, Napoleon opened the sittings of the Legislative Corps, and nominated, as governor of the kingdom, during his absence, Prince Eugene Beauharnois, his adopted son, who immediately took the oath of fidelity prescribed by the constitutional act. In announcing the choice he had made of the son of Josephine for Viceroy of Italy, he said to the members of the Legislative Assembly, "I leave this young prince with you, as the deposit of my authority. I have brought him up from his infancy; he will be animated by my own sentiments, and shew himself worthy of me." A new order of knighthood, *viz.* that of the Iron Crown, was instituted on the occasion in question.

In addressing the principal branch of the new government, namely, the senators, Napoleon used the following words:—"We wished to appear among you, and express our sentiments at large, upon one of the most important objects in the state. The strength and power of the French empire has been surpassed by the moderation which has governed all its political transactions. We have accepted, and shall place upon our head, the crown of iron, that belonged to the ancient Lombards, in order to strengthen the same, and that it may not be broken in the midst of the tempests with which it is, and will be threatened, as long as the Mediterranean shall not maintain its accustomed security. But we have no hesitation in declaring, that we will transmit this crown to one of our legitimate descendants, natural or adopted, whensoever we shall be free from alarm for the independence of the other states in the Mediterranean, which we have guaranteed.

"The genius of evil will in vain seek for pretexts to renew the war upon the Continent. What has been reunited to our empire by the constitutional laws of the state, shall continue; nor any new province be incorporated, save the Batavian Republic. The act of the mediation of the

nineteen Swiss Cantons, and the first statute of the kingdom of Italy, shall be constantly under the protection of our crown; nor will we suffer them to be violated. Under all circumstances, and in every transaction, we shall show the same moderation; and, therefore, hope that our people will not be under the necessity of displaying that courage and energy, they have frequently exhibited in defence of their legitimate rights. We have conquered Holland, three parts of Germany, and the whole of Switzerland and Italy; we have been moderate in the midst of the greatest prosperity. Out of so many provinces, we have retained no more than was necessary to preserve France in the same degree of power and consideration she has ever enjoyed. The division of Poland, the provinces severed from Turkey, the conquest of the Indies, and almost all the colonies, had broken the general equilibrium to our disadvantage. All that we have thought useless to re-establish, has been given up, and we have consequently acted in conformity with the principle whereby we have been uniformly governed, never to take arms for vain projects of grandeur, or the allurements of conquest. Germany has been evacuated; its provinces restored to the descendants of so many illustrious houses, which must have been lost for ever, had we not afforded them our generous protection. We have surrendered up and established them; and the princes of Germany at present possess more eclat and splendour than did any of their ancestors. Austria herself, after two unsuccessful wars, has obtained the state of Venice. She has frequently exchanged that Republic at her pleasure, in return for the provinces she had lost.

"Holland, scarcely conquered, has been declared independent. Its re-union to our empire would have completed our commercial system, as the greatest rivers in half of our territory debouch in that country. Holland, however, is independent, and its customs, commerce, and administration, managed according to the will of its government. Switzerland was occupied by our armies: we had defended

it against the combined forces of Europe. Its re-union would have completed our military frontier; nevertheless, Switzerland, free and independent, governs itself by the act of mediation, to the satisfaction of the nineteen Cantons. The re-union of the territory of the Italian republic to the French empire, would have been useful to the development of our agriculture: however, after the second conquest, we confirmed its independence: at present we have done more; we proclaim the principle of the separation of the crowns of France and Italy, in assigning for the epoch of that separation, the instant it may become possible, and without danger to our people of Italy."

The next spot fixed upon for cementing a union with France, was Genoa. It was, however, determined to make the annexation of that city and its dependencies appear to result from the proposal of the senate and people; wherefore the former, after due deliberation, resolved an address should be presented to the Emperor, praying that he would allow the republic of Genoa to be permanently united to the French empire.

That address was signed by numbers of the inhabitants, besides the senate; it being ordered that an embassy, consisting of the Doge, and deputies of the senate and people, should proceed to Milan, for the purpose of laying that document at the feet of the Emperor. On their arrival, Napoleon listened to them with attention, and afterwards addressed the Doge upon the necessity of such union; promising that he would realise their expectations, by uniting them to his great people. Napoleon nominated Lebrun, arch-treasurer of the empire and governor of the new departments formed out of the Ligurian territory.

Piombino, a little principality in the kingdom of Etruria, had already been ceded by the Emperor of the French to his sister Eliza, wedded to a Corsican officer named Bacciocchi, who was on that occasion created a prince. During his stay in Italy, Napoleon joined the territory of the Republic of Lucca to that of Piombino, without alter-

ing the aristocratical forms whereby that small territory had been governed for many ages. After having made those arrangements, the Emperor returned to Paris, where matters of much higher import claimed his presence.

At the period when the Emperor Alexander had signed the new treaty with the English government, he had sent a plenipotentiary to Berlin, and another to Vienna, to support the interests of England, and induce Austria to enter into a third coalition against France without delay. The ambition of Napoleon was painted in the most glowing colours, sufficient, indeed, to alarm the Emperor Francis. The Chief of the French government was represented as crowned with the diadem of Charlemagne, and at the head of a numerous army, ready to claim, by force of arms, the faith and homage of all the liege sovereigns of Europe. Such consideration, joined to the offer of subsidies on the part of England, fixed the resolution of the Emperor Francis; so that while the ambassador from the court of Vienna, at Paris, declared officially to Napoleon, that his master entertained the most pacific intentions, and cordially wished for the renewal of negotiations tending to re-establish a maritime peace, the envoy from the same court, at St. Petersburg, acceded, in the name of his sovereign, to the coalition formed between England, Sweden, and Russia, to attack France.

Though Napoleon was by no means the dupe of that diplomatic chicanery, and similar representations which followed, he still thought there was time enough to renew the alarms that had been excited in England by his preparations at Boulogne. The season of the year most favourable for such an attempt was approaching; all the vessels were collected, and soldiers and sailors anxious to be conducted towards the British shore. Resolving upon another visit to the coast, the Emperor left Paris on the 2d of August, 1805, for the camp at Boulogne, where his appearance produced all the effect he had anticipated. The British ministry, alarmed more than ever at the state of public

feeling at home, ordered its agents at the court of Vienna to signify to the Austrian government, that it was necessary to commence immediate hostilities against the French, or relinquish the expectation of receiving the promised subsidies. It was in vain the Emperor's ministers represented that their master was not yet ready; that it was necessary to await the arrival of the Russians, and their junction with the Austrian armies. England persisted in her demands, and Francis was in consequence forced to accede to a precipitate opening of the campaign.

Affairs were thus proceeding until the month of September, when M. de Cobentzel, who was still at Paris, thought it convenient to throw off the visor altogether. Intelligence had just arrived of the territory of Bavaria having been violated by the Austrian General Mack, when Napoleon immediately made known to Count Cobentzel, that no negotiation could be admitted, until the Austrian troops had evacuated Bavaria, and re-entered their own dominions. The Count answered, that it was his master's firm intention to maintain himself in Bavaria, and push his army forward to the Lech, which, he observed, would be but a trivial indemnification for the usurpations of the sovereign of France in Italy. He added, that three corps of the Russian army would shortly enter Germany, in order to support the just rights of Austria; and that, if France wished to preserve peace, it was necessary to accept the proposals previously made.

But while these transactions were passing in Germany, Napoleon was by no means inactive; for when at Boulogne, he seemed suddenly to have altered his plans, issuing orders for the dismantling the flotilla in that harbour, and directing the troops to march with all celerity from the coast to the banks of the Rhine. Similar orders were at the same time transmitted to General Marmont, in Holland; and Marshal Bernadotte was also directed to proceed with his corps from Hanover towards Franconia. A rupture having thus become unavoidable, the Elector of Bavaria,

of whom strong suspicions were entertained by the allied powers, was called upon by Austria to incorporate his troops with the Austrian army, which not being agreed to, the latter in full force passed the Inn, in September, and treated the Elector's territory as a conquered country. Heavy exactions were in consequence made upon the people, for the support of those unwelcome guests; the paper money of Vienna was forced into circulation at its nominal value, although at home it had suffered a very great depreciation, and the Elector of Bavaria was obliged to seek refuge at Wurtzburg; all which rigorous proceedings against a neutral state were attempted to be justified under the plea of necessity.

Intelligence having been received at Paris of those measures, the Senate, was convened, and, in a speech from the throne, the Emperor informed the members, that he was about to place himself at the head of his army, in order to afford immediate relief to his allies, and defend the dearest interests of his people. The war had, he informed them, already commenced, by the invasion of Bavaria, and the Elector had actually been driven from his territories. He next exhorted the French people to support him in the present unprovoked contest; and concluded by saying, "Frenchmen, your Emperor will do his duty; my soldiers will perform theirs; you will fulfil yours."—On that occasion two decrees were passed, one for the immediate levy of eighty thousand conscripts, and the other for re-organising and embodying the national guard; when those arrangements being formed, he appointed Joseph Bonaparte to superintend the government in his absence, and next day left Paris for Strasburg.

Before Napoleon quitted his capital, he announced his intention of putting himself at the head of his legions; and charged the minister for foreign affairs to give an account of all his proceedings and negotiations for the preservation of peace. This was communicated in an extraordinary sitting of the Senate, held on the 23d of September.

The Emperor quitted St. Cloud on the 24th of September, and arrived at Strasbourg on the 27th, where he awaited the arrival and concentration of the troops destined to form the grand army which he intended to conduct to Germany.

According to the plan of the campaign, arranged at St. Petersburg, the first blow in Italy was to have been struck by the Austrians, who were to force the passage of the Adige, dislodge the enemy from the Mincio, invest Mantua and Peschiera, and detach a body of troops to the Po, to observe the south of Italy, and open the way to the Adda. It was foreseen that, in Germany, Austria would have to sustain the first shock of French impetuosity, without the aid of her imperial ally; it was therefore determined that the Austrians should enter Bavaria, and, taking a strong position on the Lech, await the arrival of the Russians, while the forces in the Tyrol were to regulate their motions by those of the armies of Italy and Germany.

When Napoleon arrived at Strasburg, the greatest part of the French army, which had proceeded by rapid marches from the coast, passed the Rhine at Manheim, Spires, and Durlach, under Marshals Davoust, Soult, and Ney. Marshal Lannes, with his division, and the reserve of cavalry under Prince Murat, having crossed, on the preceding day, at Kehl. The French army of Hanover, composed of about twenty thousand men, under Bernadotte, having marched by Gottingen and Frankfort, had arrived at the head-quarters of the Elector of Bavaria, at Wurtzburg. There Bernadotte was soon after joined by General Marmont and the Gallo-Batavian army, which had crossed the Rhine at Mentz, and, by that union, the force collected at Wurtzburg amounted to upwards of sixty thousand men.

Bonaparte's plan for opening the German campaign was of a masterly character. In order to avoid the inconveniences of traversing the Black Forest, he resolved to advance along the northern bank of the Danube, and, passing that river below the position of the Austrians, place

himself between them and the Russians. As it was necessary that this project should be executed with the utmost secrecy and rapidity, Murat was ordered to manœuvre near the passes of the Black Forest, to induce the Austrians to believe that the French intended to force a passage in that direction. General Mack fell into the snare, and advanced, with the greater part of his army, to oppose Murat. At length he discovered his error, and was suddenly compelled to change all his plans. In the meantime, the French had traversed the electorate of Wirtemburg and the plains of Nordlingen with the greatest rapidity, so that, on the 16th of October, Marshal Soult arrived, at the head of his division, on the Danube, at Donawerth, and obtained possession of the bridge at Munster. Marmont, having unexpectedly penetrated through the Prussian territory of Anspach, soon after arrived, with Bernadotte and his division, at Ingoldstadt; and, from that moment, the issue of the campaign appeared to be decided. The Austrians, under General Mack, did not exceed eighty thousand men, while a French force, nearly double that number, was posted in his rear, and his communications with the Austrian states nearly cut off.

When Napoleon passed through Stuttgard with his army, on his way to Ulm, he had an interview with the Princess Royal of England, afterwards Queen of Wirtemburg, with whom he had several conversations, and was much pleased. The prejudices she entertained against him soon vanished, and he had the pleasure of interfering with her husband to her advantage; who, though a man of talent, the Emperor described as being a brute; for which interference the queen was very grateful. She afterwards contributed materially towards effecting the marriage between Jerome and the Princess Catherine, daughter of the king by a former marriage.*

* The late King of Wirtemburg was a man of strong intellect and cultivated taste, but yet a tyrant. His person and manners were imposing, and he possessed that ascendancy over those around him, which violent temper alone, without some masculine traits of charac-

The official bulletins of this campaign of a few days possess so much brevity and force, that it would be difficult for other words to convey superior or adequate ideas of the rapid and brilliant succession of events they relate.

The first bulletin, after enumerating the different corps that had passed the Rhine, mentions Murat remaining for several days in a position before the defiles of the Black Forest. His patroles, who often shewed themselves to those of the enemy, induced them to believe that it was the intention of the French to penetrate by those defiles. The grand park of artillery traversed the Rhine at Kehl, on the 30th of September, and advanced towards Heilbronn, while the Emperor passed that stream on the 1st of October, at Kehl; slept at Ettlingen the same night, and received the Elector and Princess of Baden, when he proceeded to Louisburgh, to the Elector of Wirtemburg, in whose palace he took up his abode.

On the 6th of October, the second division of General Soult's corps, under command of General Vandamme, remained only two hours at Nordlingen, and, continuing its march, arrived, at eight in the evening, at Donawerth, and took possession of the bridge, which was defended by the regiment of Colloredo. Some men were killed, and several made prisoners.

On the 8th, at day-break, Murat, at the head of Beaumont's and Klein's dragoons, and the division of carabiniers and cuirassiers commanded by General Nansouty, marched

ter, is insufficient to produce. He often made reparation to those he had injured. The Queen was as much in awe of, as attached to him. His reign was severe and despotic; but its severity fell, principally, where it did least harm—on the noblesse. He cut down numerous undue privileges—made many serve as common soldiers in his army, and vexed them by tyrannical seizures and oppressions. There was, in short, something like grandeur, mixed with much littleness, in his pride; and some nobleness of nature mollified his intemperance of disposition.

Napoleon, no mean judge of talents, once said to him, when Duke, "*Je ne voudrais pas voir votre altesse à la tête de cent mille hommes;*"—"I should not like to see your royal highness at the head of a hundred thousand men;" to which the Duke replied, with spirit and brevity, "*Sire, cinquante mille me suffiroit.*"—"Sire, fifty thousand would be sufficient."

to cut off the route from Ulm to Augsburg. On his arrival at Wertingen, he perceived a considerable division of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of Albert's cuirassiers, when he immediately surrounded the whole of that corps. Marshal Lasnes, who was marching in the rear of those bodies of cavalry, arrived with the division of Oudinot, and, after an engagement of two hours, the whole, with standards, cannon, baggage, officers, and soldiers, were taken. There were also twelve battalions of grenadiers, who had marched in great haste from the Tyrol, to the assistance of the army of Bavaria.

In fine, the forces under Marshal Bernadotte, together with the Bavarian army, commanded by Generals Duroc and Verden, took their position at Ingoldstadt. The imperial guard, commanded by General Bessieres, proceeded to Augsburg; as also the division of cuirassiers under the command of General Hautpoult. Prince Murat, with the divisions of Klein and Beaumont, and the division of carabiniers and cuirassiers under General Nansouty, hastened with all speed to the village of Zumershausen, in order to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburg. Marshal Lasnes, with the grenadier division of Oudinot, and the division of Suchet, also posted themselves, the same day, at the village of Zumershausen.

The Emperor passed in review the dragoons of Zumershausen, when he ordered to be brought before him a dragoon named Marente, of the 4th regiment, one of the gallant soldiers who, at the passage of the Lech, had saved his captain, by whom he had, a few days before, been cashiered from his rank. His Majesty then bestowed upon him the eagle of the Legion of Honour; when the soldier observed, "I have only done my duty; my captain degraded me on account of some violation of discipline, but he knows I have always proved a good soldier." The Emperor expressed his satisfaction to the dragoons, for the conduct they had displayed at the battle of Wertingen, and

ordered each regiment to present a dragoon, on whom he also bestowed the decoration of the Legion of Honour.*

All the cannon, colours, and nearly the whole of the officers of the enemy's army who fought at Wertingen, were taken, and a great number killed. Two lieutenant-colonels, six majors, sixty officers, and four thousand soldiers, fell into the victors' hands. The remainder were dispersed; and those who had escaped, owed their safety to a morass, which stopped a column that was turning the enemy.

Marshal Ney on his side, with the divisions of Malher, Dupont, and Loison, the division of dragoons of General Barraguay d'Hilliers, and the division of Gazan, ascended the Danube, and attacked the enemy in his position at Grumberg.

The rains did not retard the forced marches of the grand army; on which occasion the Emperor set the example, being on horseback night and day, and continually in the midst of his troops, and at every point where his presence was necessary. On the 9th of October, he rode fourteen leagues in dreadful weather; slept at a small village without servants or baggage. The Bishop of Augsburg had, however, illuminated his palace, and waited for his Majesty during part of the night.

The combat at Wertingen was followed in twenty-four hours by an action at Gunsburgh, where Marshal Ney had caused his corps to advance—the division of Loison being at Langenau, and that of Malher at Gunsburgh. The

* "For a sovereign who has worn two crowns, I am poor, my dear Count," said Napoleon to Las Cases, at St. Helena; "as a private individual, I should be immensely rich, if I were on my return to Europe. It is then I would consent to live only for three years, provided it were permitted me to pass them in France as a simple citizen. With what pleasure would I visit my old companions in arms! *I would go to seek them at the plough and in the manufactories; two-thirds of my fortune would be their patrimony.* How then am I constituted? In France I loved them in a mass, as intrepid warriors; here I cherish them. I feel for them individually. If it should happen that grief and disappointment conduct me to the tomb, *the misfortunes of the ancient army will contribute something towards it. they cause me to pass many unhappy nights.*"

enemy, who endeavoured to oppose their march, was everywhere defeated. It was in vain Prince Ferdinand hastened in person to defend Gunsburgh; General Malher attacked him with the 59th regiment. The battle was most obstinate, as the troops fought man to man. Colonel La Cuée was killed at the head of his regiment, which, notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, carried the bridge by main force: the cannon that defended it were taken, and the fine position of Gunsburgh remained in possession of the French.

At the period in question, the Emperor wrote the following letter to the Prefect and Mayor of Paris:—

"Gentlemen, Prefect, and Mayor of our good city of Paris,—Our troops in the combat at Wertingen defeated twelve battalions of grenadiers, the flower of the Austrian army, all their artillery having remained in our power, with a vast number of prisoners, and eight stands of colours. We have resolved to make a present of those ensigns to our good city of Paris, as well as two pieces of cannon, to be placed at the Hôtel de Ville.

"We desire that our good city of Paris may see in this mark of our remembrance, and the present intended, which must be more precious, since it was its governor who commanded the troops at the combat of Wertingen, who thus testifies the love which he bears it. The present letter having only this object in view, we pray God to have you in his holy keeping. (Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The battles of Albeck, Elchingen, and the capture of Ulm and Memmingen, followed the actions at Wertingen and Gunsburgh. Marshal Soult arrived on the 13th before Memmingen, immediately surrounded the town, and, after some negotiation, the commandant capitulated. Nine battalions were taken prisoners; a major-general, many superior officers, ten pieces of cannon, and a vast quantity of baggage and ammunition of every kind. At the same time, Marshal Soult marched for Ochsenhausen, for the purpose

of attaining Biberach, and cutting off the only retreat that lay open to the Archduke Ferdinand. On the 19th, the enemy made a sortie from Ulm, and attacked the division of Dupont, which battle proved most obstinate. Surrounded by twenty-five thousand men, those six thousand brave fellows opposed them on all sides, and took fifteen hundred prisoners. On the 13th, the Emperor proceeded to the camp before Ulm, and ordered the army of the enemy to be invested; and, on the 14th, at day-break, Marshal Ney passed the bridge, at the head of Loison's division. The enemy opposed his taking possession of Elchingen, with sixteen thousand men; they were everywhere overthrown, with the loss of three thousand men taken prisoners, and the rest pursued to their intrenchments. On the 14th, General Marmont occupied all the communications of the enemy on the Iller, and, on the 15th, at day-break, the Emperor himself appeared before Ulm. The corps of Murat, and those of Marshals Lasnes and Ney, ranged themselves in order of battle, to force the intrenchments of the enemy; the weather proved dreadful, the troops being up to their knees in mud, while Napoleon had not taken off his boots for eight days. The Austrian Prince Ferdinand had marched off in the night towards Biberach, leaving twelve battalions in the town, and upon the heights of Ulm, which were all taken. Marshal Soult captured Biberach on the 15th, and Murat set out in pursuit of the enemy, who was in a dreadful state of dissolution; since, out of an army of eighty thousand men, only twenty-five thousand remained. Immediately after his arrival at Munich, Marshal Bernadotte pursued the army of General Kienmeyer, and captured some waggons and prisoners.

The day of Ulm was one of the most brilliant in the history of France. The Emperor might have taken the place by assault, but twenty thousand men, defended by fortifications and swampy ditches, would have offered a resistance, and his desire was to save the effusion of blood. General Mack, commander in chief of the Austrians, was

in the town, so that it seemed the fate of generals opposed to the Emperor was, to be taken in fortified places. It will be recollected, that after the brilliant movements on the Brenta, old Field-marshal Wurmser was made prisoner in Mantua, Melas at Alexandria, and Mack at Ulm.

The Austrian army was one of the finest that country had ever furnished: it consisted of fourteen regiments of infantry of the army of Bavaria, as it was called; thirteen from the Tyrol, and five which had been forwarded in waggons from Italy; making, altogether, thirty-two regiments of infantry, and fifteen of cavalry. Napoleon had placed the army of Prince Ferdinand in the same situation with that of Melas. After having long hesitated, the latter had adopted the noble resolution of piercing through the French army, which occasioned the battle of Marengo. Mack adopted another plan: Ulm forms the point of union of a great number of roads; he had conceived the plan of making his divisions retreat by those routes, to re-assemble them in Bohemia and the Tyrol. The divisions of Hohenzollern and Werneck were marched off by Heydenheim; and a small division retreated through Memmingen; but the Emperor, on the 12th, hastened from Augsburg to Ulm, immediately disconcerted the projects of the enemy, and ordered the bridge and position of Elchingen to be carried, which rendered every thing secure. Marshal Soult, after having taken Memmingen, went in pursuit of the other columns; so that Prince Ferdinand had no other resource than to suffer himself to be shut up in Ulm, or endeavour, by cross roads, to join the division of Hohenzollern: the Prince adopted the latter resolution, and proceeded to Aalen. In the meantime, Murat was in full pursuit: while he made a movement on his right to Heydenheim, Marshal Lasnes marched towards Aalen and Nordlingen; the progress of the enemy being retarded by five hundred waggons, was also much weakened by the battle of Langenau. That action, however, did not impede the march of Murat, who advanced rapidly towards Neresheim, and on the 17th,

at five in the evening, arrived before that position; when the division of dragoons of General Klein charged the enemy. Two standards, a general officer, and one thousand men, were taken at the battle of Neresheim, Prince Ferdinand, and seven of his generals, having barely time to get on horseback, as their dinner was found upon table; so that during two days they had no place of rest.

As Napoleon was passing through a crowd of prisoners, an Austrian colonel expressed his astonishment on beholding the Emperor of the French drenched with rain, covered with dirt, and as much, or even more fatigued than the meanest drummer in his army. An aide-de-camp present having explained to him what the Austrian officer said, the Emperor ordered this answer to be given: "Your master wished to make me recollect that I was a soldier: I hope he will allow that the throne and the imperial purple have not made me forget my original profession."

The appearance of the French army on the 15th was most interesting. For two days the rain had fallen in torrents; the whole army was dripping; the soldiers had no provisions distributed, and were up to the knees in mud. The Emperor, however, infused into them fresh spirits; and, at the moment he perceived whole columns in that state, he ordered "Long live the Emperor!" to be cried. It is also said, that Napoleon replied to the officers who surrounded him, and expressed their surprise how, in a moment of such distress, the soldiers could forget all their wants, and appear only sensible of the pleasure of seeing him, "They are in the right; it is to spare their blood that I make them undergo such fatigue." The Emperor, when the army occupied the heights which command Ulm, sent for the Prince of Lichtenstein, major-general, then shut up in the town, in order to communicate to him his wish that it would capitulate; adding, that, in case he took it by storm, he should be under the necessity of acting as he had done at Jaffa, where the whole garrison was put to the sword; that it was one of the melancholy rights of war;

that he wished himself and the brave Austrian nation were spared the necessity of so dreadful an action; and that, as the place was not tenable, it ought to surrender.

The Prince then required that the officers and soldiers should have liberty to return to Austria. "I will grant it," replied the Emperor, "to the officers, but not to the soldiers; for who will be my security that they are not compelled to serve again?" Then, after hesitating a moment, he added, "Well, I will rely upon the word of Prince Ferdinand: if he is in the town, I wish to give him a proof of my esteem, by granting what you require, hoping that the Court of Vienna will not break the word of one of its princes." Upon M. de Lichtenstein assuring him that Prince Ferdinand was not in the town, "Then," said the Emperor, "I do not see who is to be my guarantee that the soldiers I send you back will not again be employed."

On the night of the 16th there was a terrible hurricane: the Danube completely overflowed its boundaries, and carried away many of the bridges, which certainly afforded the Austrian army an opportunity of forcing its passage through the French army; but that favourable circumstance was not improved. On the 15th, Marshal Bernadotte, having pushed his advanced posts as far as Wasserbourg and Haag, on the road of Brannau, took four or five hundred prisoners, and seventeen pieces of cannon; having thus captured, since his entry into Munich, fifteen hundred prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, two hundred horses, and a quantity of baggage.

The Emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st of October; the Danube on the 6th, at five o'clock in the morning; and the Lech the same day, at half-past three; when his troops entered Munich on the 12th, the advanced guard arriving on the Inn on the 15th. The same day he was master of Memmingen, and, on the 17th, of Ulm, when the terms of capitulation were finally settled. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, and, after filing off, lay down its arms. The field-officers were permitted to

return home upon parole; but the subalterns and soldiers were sent prisoners to France. Napoleon took from the enemy at Wertingen, Gunsburgh, Elchingen, the affairs of Memmingen and Ulm, and in the actions of Albeck, Langenau, and Neresheim, forty thousand men, more than forty stands of colours, a great number of cannon, baggage waggons, &c.; to accomplish all which, only marches and manœuvres had been employed. In those partial actions, the loss of the French army amounted to no more than five hundred killed, and a thousand wounded. It was a common remark among the troops, "The Emperor has found out a new method of carrying on war: he only makes us use our legs instead of our bayonets." Five-sixths of the army never fired a shot, at which the troops were much mortified. The eulogy of the army may be pronounced in a breath—it was worthy of its chief.

On the 20th of October, the Emperor took his station, from two o'clock in the afternoon till seven in the evening, on the heights near Ulm, where the Austrian army filed off in his presence. Thirty thousand men, with sixty pieces of cannon, and forty stands of colours, surrendered to the victorious French. The Emperor, surrounded by his life-guards, sent for the Austrian generals, whom he detained near him until their troops had passed. He treated them with the utmost distinction; there being present, besides the commander in chief Mack, eight generals and seven lieutenant-generals.

On the 21st, his Majesty set off for Augsburg, the army shut up in Ulm having consisted of thirty-three thousand men, to which number the three thousand wounded being added, made a total of thirty-six thousand. There were also found in the place sixty pieces of artillery, and fifty stands of colours. Nothing could form a more striking contrast, than the disposition of the French and Austrian armies. In the French lines, heroism was carried to the highest pitch; while in those of Austria dejection had reached its height. The Austrian soldier was paid in paper

money; he could therefore remit nothing to his family, and was ill treated. The French warrior thought only of glory. The Emperor had occasion to complain of nothing but the excessive ardour of the soldiers. The 17th light infantry, on arriving before Ulm, rushed into the place; and, during the capitulation, the whole army was so anxious to storm it, that the Emperor was obliged to declare it his positive intention, that the town should not be stormed. When the first column of the prisoners at Ulm began its march for France, the Emperor addressed the Austrian generals in the following terms:—"Gentlemen, your master carries on an unjust war. I tell you plainly, I know not for what I am fighting; I am not aware of what can be required of me. It is not in this army alone that my resources consist; though, were such the case, still my troops and myself would make considerable progress. But I shall appeal to the testimony of your own prisoners of war, who must speedily pass through France; they will observe with their own eyes the spirit which animates my people, and with what eagerness they flock to my standards. This is the advantage of my nation and my position. At a single word, two hundred thousand volunteers crowd to my standard, and, in six weeks, become good soldiers; whereas your recruits only march from compulsion, and do not become good soldiers till after the lapse of several years. I would give my brother, the Emperor of Germany, one further piece of advice—let him hasten to ratify peace. This is the moment for him to recollect that all empires have an end—the idea that the termination of the dynasty of the House of Lorraine may have arrived, should impress him with terror. I desire nothing upon the Continent. I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine, that I should have them."—M. Mack replied, that the Emperor of Germany had not been desirous for war, but was compelled to the measure by Russia. "If that be the case," said the Emperor, "you are no longer a power."—Most of the generals confessed how disagreeable

the war was to them, and how much they were affected to see a Russian army in their country. They condemned that blind system of politics, which ushered into the centre of Europe a people accustomed to live in an uncultivated country, who, as well as their forefathers, might take a fancy to settle in a milder climate. The Emperor treated Lieutenant-general Klenau (whom he knew as commander of the regiment of Wurmser) with much civility; comforting all the superior officers in their misfortunes, and telling them, war had its chances, and that, though frequently conquerors, they might sometimes be conquered.

The evening before the surrender of Ulm, Napoleon addressed the following proclamation to his army:—

"Soldiers, a month ago we were encamped on the shore of the ocean opposite to England; but an impious league compelled us to fly towards the Rhine. It is but a fortnight since we passed that river, and the Alps of Wirtemburg, the Necker, the Danube, and the Lech, those celebrated barriers, have not retarded our march a day, an hour, an instant. Indignation against a prince whom we have twice seated on his throne, when it depended entirely on our pleasure to hurl him from the same, supplied us with wings. The enemy's army, deceived by our manœuvres, and the rapidity of our movements, is completely turned. It now fights only for its safety. It would gladly embrace any opportunity of escaping, and returning home; but it is now too late: the fortifications erected at a great expense along the Iller, expecting we should advance through the avenues of the Black Forest, are become useless, since we marched by the plains of Bavaria. Soldiers, but for the army which is now in front of you, we should have been in London; we should have avenged ourselves for six centuries of insults, and restored the freedom of the seas. But bear in mind to-morrow, that you are fighting against the allies of England; that you have to avenge yourselves of a perjured prince, whose own letters breathed nothing but peace,

at the moment he was marching his army against our ally; who thought us such cowards as to suppose we should tamely witness his passing the Inn, his entrance into Munich, and his aggression upon the Elector of Bavaria. He thought we were occupied elsewhere; let him, for the third and last time, learn, that we know how to be present in every place where the country has enemies to combat. Soldiers, to-morrow will be a hundred times more celebrated than the day of Marengo. I have placed the enemy in the same position. It is necessary that not a man of the enemy's army should escape; that government which has violated all its engagements, shall first learn its catastrophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna, when its conscience may tell it, that it has betrayed both its solemn promises of peace, and the first of the duties bequeathed by its ancestors—the power of forming a rampart for Europe against the irruptions of the Cossacks. Soldiers, you have been engaged in the affairs of Wertingen and Gunsburgh. I am satisfied with your conduct. Every corps in the army will emulate you; and I shall be able to say to my people, 'Your Emperor and your army have done their duty; perform yours:' and the two hundred thousand conscripts whom I have summoned, will hasten, by prompt marches, to reinforce our second line.

"NAPOLEON, EMPEROR."

This proclamation was, on the 21st of October, succeeded by another, dated from Elchingen.

"Soldiers of the army," said Napoleon, "in a fortnight we have finished a campaign. We have accomplished our purpose. We have expelled the troops of the House of Austria from Bavaria, and re-established our ally in the sovereignty of his states. That army, which, with equal ostentation and imprudence, had posted itself on our frontiers, is annihilated. But what does this signify to England? Her purpose is accomplished. We are no longer

at Boulogne, and the amount of her subsidy will thereby be neither increased or diminished.

"Of one hundred thousand men, who composed that army, sixty thousand are prisoners; they go to occupy the place of our conscripts in the labours of our fields. Two hundred pieces of cannon (their whole park), ninety stands of colours, and all their generals, are in our hands; there have not escaped of this army fifteen thousand men. Soldiers, I had announced to you a great battle, but, thanks to the bad combinations of the enemy, I have been able to obtain the same success, without running any risk; and, what is unexampled in the history of nations, so important a result has not diminished our force by more than fifteen hundred men.

"Soldiers, you owe this success to your unbounded confidence in your Emperor; to your patience in supporting fatigues and privations of every description, and to your singular intrepidity.

"But we will not stop here. You are impatient to commence a second campaign. We are about to make that Russian army, which the gold of England has transported from the extremities of the universe, undergo the same fate.*

* The rapidity with which the Emperor executed every thing connected with his important station, is almost incredible; and yet it is equally certain that he never neglected a single duty which he was called upon to fulfil, or left to others those matters he ought to have attended to himself. He was always at business, and frequently would hardly allow himself time to eat or sleep; nay, he would scarcely permit those about him a moment's respite from their labours.

His private secretary, to whom he dictated his proclamations, was kept so hard at work, that he was one day obliged to remonstrate, and beg that a second secretary might be employed, in order to take some of the burden off his hands. Bonaparte, however, instead of yielding to his remonstrance, answered, "I certainly shall not take a *second* secretary; I only regret being obliged to have *one. I wish nothing so much as that it were possible for me to execute all the business myself.*"

In reference to Napoleon's studious habits, it may not be irrelevant to remark, that the portrait of Napoleon most esteemed by himself was that from the pencil of David, the famous artist, painted at the desire of the Marquis of Douglas, who is in possession of that superlative specimen of the art. As the Emperor had been so frequently delineated in the characters of a warrior and a hero, the designer, in this

"In this contest is more particularly implicated the honour of the infantry. It is this which must a second time decide the question, already resolved in Switzerland and Holland—whether the French infantry be second or first in Europe? Here there are no generals in combating whom I can have any glory to acquire. All my care shall be to obtain the victory with the least possible effusion of blood—my soldiers are my children."

On the 24th of October, Napoleon arrived at Munich, which was tastefully illuminated on the occasion. During his stay, he gave a concert to all the ladies of the court, and paid particular attention to Madame Montgelas, a female of extraordinary beauty, and wife to the Elector's prime minister. He praised the musical compositions of M. de Wintz, as being replete with spirit and talent; while the Bavarians, being well affected, ran to arms, and formed voluntary guards for their defence against the incursions of the Cossacks.

Brannau was found one of the finest acquisitions for the army, being surrounded by a circumvallation fortified with bastions, drawbridges, a half-moon, and ditches full of water. The place was also most abundantly supplied with provisions, ammunition, and artillery, necessary for the support of a long siege.

A smart affair took place between the French and Austrians, on the heights of Ried. A quarter-master of the eighth dragoons having had his wrist shot off, said, in the hearing of Prince Murat, "I regret the loss of my hand,

instance, conceived the happy idea of representing him in the hour of privacy; wherefore the scene displays Napoleon in his private cabinet, with numerous papers scattered upon the table, the wax lights nearly exhausted, the hand of the pendule upon the chimney-piece pointing to the fourth hour of morning, the Emperor being in the act of attaching his sword to his side, preparatory to the morning review of the imperial guard in the Place Carousel, after having apparently spent the night in deep political cogitation.

Upon Napoleon's seeing this masterly performance, he expressed his great satisfaction; and, in particular, made use of the following characteristic and striking words to Monsieur David upon that occasion:—"*Les nuits sont pour mon peuple, et les jours pour la gloire.*"—"My nights are dedicated to my people, and my days to glory!"

because I can no longer serve our brave Emperor;" who being made acquainted with the circumstance, said, "There I recognise the spirit of the eighth: let a profitable situation, according to his rank, be given him in the palace of Versailles."

At the period in question the snow was very deep, and the roads horrible; yet Marshal Davoust took a position between Ried and Haag. The Emperor of Germany, in his anxiety, repaired to Wells, where he ascertained the disasters of his army at Ulm, and that Vienna was threatened with famine. It was said that there was not a man in all Germany who did not consider the English as authors of the war, and the Emperors Francis and Alexander as the victims of their intrigues. The cry in every mouth was, that there would be no peace as long as England was governed by an oligarchy; and in such manner it would be ruled, as long as George the Third lived. The accession of the Prince of Wales was therefore generally wished for, to put an end to the power of the few, who in all countries are selfish, and insensible to the misfortunes of the many. The war was moreover said to have been contrary to the opinion of all the princes of the Austrian family.

On the 3d of November, Marshal Davoust had pushed his advanced posts to Steyer; while, in a combat at Lambach, two Russian pieces of cannon were found among those taken. Since passing the Inn, from fourteen to sixteen thousand prisoners had been taken, Austrians and Russians, without including the sick. Napoleon's headquarters were established at Lambach, where immense magazines of salt were found, and several thousand florins.

On the 4th of November, Murat had never lost sight of the enemy, who thought a few hundreds of men would be able to retard his passage over the river Traun; but General Walther's dragoons threw themselves into boats, and, aided by the artillery, attacked the town. The river Enns, passed about the same time, was considered as the last line defending the approaches to Vienna.

Prince Murat, after the capture of Enns, pursued the enemy anew. The Russian army on the heights of Amstetten was attacked by General Oudinot's grenadiers; the battle proved very obstinate, the Russians leaving four hundred dead on the field, and one thousand five hundred prisoners. In their retreat, they in vain cut down the bridges over the Ips, Murat reaching the Abbey of Moelk, and a small reconnoitring party of French taking the route for Bohemia. The French advanced posts being at St. Polten on the 8th of November, the enemy was attacked near Marienzell, put to the route, and pursued five leagues, losing three standards, sixteen pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners; when, on the 9th, in the morning, Murat arrived at St. Hyppolite. There a deputation from the inhabitants of Vienna, with Prince Zinzendorf at its head, attended him, to declare the Emperor's intention of delivering up the metropolis, in order to preserve it from the horrors of war; and that, in so doing, he depended on the justice and generosity of Bonaparte to carry his benevolent wishes into execution. The deputies were received by Murat with attention and respect; and, having obtained the strongest assurances of protection, they returned to Vienna. General Sebastiani entered that city in consequence of arrangements then made; and his troops were quietly conducted to the quarters assigned them.

The whole court and the nobility had quitted that capital; and the Emperor of Austria was preparing to follow. The Russian army had effected its retreat to Krems, by repassing the Danube, apprehending that its communications with Moravia might be cut off. The Abbey of Moelk, at which the Emperor Napoleon lodged, is one of the finest now in Europe. It is in a strong position, and commands the Danube; and by the Romans, who built it, was called the *iron house*. The vaults and cellars of this abbey were found full of excellent Hungarian wine, which proved of great service to the army.

On the 13th, Marshal Davoust having followed up his

success, the whole of General Meerfeldt's corps was destroyed. Vienna had then been evacuated by all the troops who had occupied it, and their duty was performed by the national guard; while Murat had been within half a league of the city for three days.

While the French continued at St. Polten, Napoleon was riding on horseback on the Vienna road, when he perceived an open carriage approaching, in which were seated a priest, and a lady bathed in tears. The Emperor was dressed, as usual, in the uniform of a colonel of the chasseurs of the guard. The lady did not recognise him. He inquired the cause of her distress, and where she was going. "Sir," said she, "I have been robbed, about two leagues hence, by a party of soldiers, who have killed my gardener. I am going to request that your Emperor will grant me a guard: he once knew my family well, and lay under obligations to them."—"Your name?" inquired Napoleon.—"De Brunny," answered the lady: "I am the daughter of M. de Marbeuf, formerly governor of Corsica."—"I am delighted to meet with you, madam," exclaimed Napoleon, with the most charming frankness, "and to have an opporunity of serving you,—I am the Emperor." The lady was amazed, whom Napoleon consoled, and, directing her to wait for him at head-quarters, granted a piquet of chasseurs, and thus dismissed her happy and contented.

The Russians declined all the temptations held out to engage on the heights of St. Polten, and, as before observed, passed the Danube at Krems, burning the bridge, which was very handsome. But when Marshal Mortier, with six battalions, advanced towards Stein, on the 11th, he reckoned upon finding only the Russian rear guard, but discovered their whole army, the advanced guard excepted, which had not passed. The battle of Diernstein then took place, which, it is said, will be for ever celebrated in military annals. From six in the morning till four in the afternoon, four thousand French made head against all who opposed them; and, having become masters of Loiben,

conceived all was over; but the enemy, enraged at having lost ten stands of colours, six pieces of cannon, nine hundred prisoners, and two thousand killed, had despatched two columns, through difficult passes, to turn the French. As soon as Mortier perceived this, he marched straight against the troops who had turned him, and cut his way through the enemy's lines, at the very moment that the 9th regiment of light infantry, and the 33d of the line, had charged and defeated another Russian corps, taking two stands of colours, and making four thousand prisoners. That was indeed a day of blood, as more than four thousand Russians were killed and wounded, and one thousand three hundred made prisoners; the loss of the French being also very considerable. It then appeared that the Emperor of Germany, the ministers, and the court, were at Brunn, in Moravia, where the Emperor Alexander was expected.

We must here insert another account of the gallant affair at Diernstein, in which a Colonel Henriod particularly distinguished himself, though his name was not mentioned in the bulletins of the French army at the time.

After the Russians had made the retrograde movement that threw them upon Diernstein, they remained quietly in their position for some time; but, at night, after the departure of Marshal Mortier, Major Henriod, a superior officer in the camp, seeing the heights before Stein covered with the enemy's troops, lost no time in detaching the 100th regiment towards the extremity of the enemy's line. He also sent to inform the troops posted behind Loiben of those movements; and proceeded to that village, to rally some posts that had been dispersed by the enemy's appearance. Marshal Mortier and General Gazan being apprised by the orderly men of what was passing, set out at full gallop towards Diernstein, with some dragoons and officers of the staff, when both had nearly been taken by a corps of one thousand five hundred Russians, with whom they exchanged some pistol shots. Having escaped that danger,

ere reaching Diernstein, the marshal and the general perceived several other heads of columns beginning to descend from the heights on the left of the road leading to that village. They then quickened their pace, to gain the hamlet between Diernstein and Loiben, thinking to find part of the troops they had left there; but this post was already occupied by the enemy, and the French division which they sought was in advance upon the plain above Loiben. That column had hitherto been able to keep the enemy before it in check, who, for particular reasons, did not press so closely as it might have done. General Gazan, who rightly guessed the intentions of the Russian general, ordered Colonel Ritay to advance to the ravine on the left of Diernstein, with one of his battalions, and the escort of the head-quarters, to secure that passage for his division: scarcely had the colonel approached the point to which he was directed, ere he found himself in presence of an immense column debouching from the village. In fact, this was the point of the re-union of all the enemy's troops, then forming for the purpose of crowning the height at the foot of which Diernstein is situated. Attacked by this mass, the French division was overthrown, and Colonel Ritay dangerously wounded: about one hundred and fifty infantry, and some dragoons who abandoned their horses, succeeded in gaining the head of the ravine; but the rest were driven upon the plain of Loiben in disorder.

After the enemy, twelve thousand strong, had thus debouched from Diernstein, he formed into two columns, to proceed by two roads which joined at the foot of the heights of Stein. The road on the left was enclosed between two stone walls, about five feet in height, and only broad enough to admit eight men in front. This division was in number about eight, those that took the other road on the left consisting of five thousand men. Thus the four thousand French upon the plain of Loiben were in a desperate situation, having masses in their front and rear suf-

ficient to crush them. On their left, there was a steep boundary, without any opening; and on the right, the river Danube, which they had no means of passing.

Feeling all the danger of the situation, General Gazan and Marshal Mortier called their officers about them, to deliberate upon the means of extricating themselves from the *souriciere* (mouse-trap) in which they were enclosed. To capitulate, and lay down their arms before the enemy, would have been acting a part unworthy of the conquerors of Albeck and Elchingen; and, when some pusillanimous individuals talked of such a measure, the whole division swore it would rather perish with arms in its hands.

During this deliberation, the brave Major Henriod, then stationed in advance at the head of the plain, the point most threatened by the enemy, sent to inform the generals, that, if they would adopt a plan he had to propose, he would answer for the safety of the whole division. Henriod pointed out to General Gazan the fault the enemy had committed, in advancing through the walled passage before mentioned, as it was impossible for a column of that length to act upon its flanks; and, besides, as it could only present eight men in front, it might be most effectually attacked with the bayonet—a terrible instrument in the hands of those knowing how to use it, and who, besides, added to their usual intrepidity all the energy of despair. The head of the enemy's column, he said, being overturned by the shock proposed, must naturally fall back upon his centre, and that also upon the rear, when, to avoid the consequences, the enemy would have no means left but scaling the walls that enclosed him on both sides.

General Gazan communicated the plan of Major Henriod to Marshal Mortier, who approved of the same, and gave orders for an immediate attack. The Major then addressing himself to the grenadiers, who formed the head of his column, said, "Comrades, we are surrounded by thirty thousand Russians, and there are but four thousand of us; however, the French never reckon upon the number of

their enemies. We shall defeat them. Grenadiers of the 100th, you shall have the honour of making the first charge. Remember, the business now is to save the French eagles." The whole regiment answered this short and eloquent harangue by exclaiming, "Monsieur le Major, we are all grenadiers!"

The ammunition of the French being nearly expended, Major Henriod caused the last six cannon-balls to be fired, which brought some of the stones down upon the enemy's column. During which time, Marshal Mortier and General Gazan took post between the first and second battalion of the 100th regiment. Major Henriod ordered the charge to be beaten, and advised the grenadiers to cry out altogether, "No quarter! these are the Russians." The column then advanced with haste, without returning a discharge from the enemy, which only wounded one officer and two privates. This division plunged their bayonets in the first of the Russian files, and discharged their muskets at the same time, the noise of which seemed to alarm those in the rear. To give the second division an opportunity of performing the same manœuvre, the first scaled the walls on the right and left; but, instead of going into the rear of the first battalion to re-form, those grenadiers were in such haste, that they placed themselves between the second and third division. The number of Russians who had fallen before, and the retrograde movements of the others, had now left an interval of fifteen paces between the Russians and the French; when the latter, after sustaining a discharge that wounded a grenadier and killed Major Henriod's horse, this division, like the former, threw itself upon the Russians, and bayoneted them at arm's length. But the impatience of the other French divisions to come into action was such, that the grenadiers could not scale the wall fast enough to make room for them, when they unscrewed their bayonets, and used them as poniards against the enemy.

Thus, as Major Henriod had foreseen, after three quar-

ters of an hour's struggle, during which the French had not proceeded a hundred paces over the bodies of their enemies, the retreat of the head of the Russian column crushed its own centre, already compressed by the rear. To escape this new but certain destruction, the centre, forcing the walls on either side, was dispersed, and in complete disorder. At this moment, the general panic having spread among the Russian troops, was increased by the shadows of approaching night, which prevented them from ascertaining the cause of their defeat, or the number of their enemies. Almost the whole of the Russian column threw away its arms, and fled in all directions towards Stein and the high road to Moravia.

The column which took the route to Loiben shared the terror of the left, hurrying away all the troops in advance of Stein. In that dreadful confusion, some Russians set fire to the village of Loiben, where the cries of more than five hundred men, wounded in the morning, closed the scene of horror. Thus the whole Russian army was in a state of complete disorder for more than four hours.

The walled road being opened, the head of the French column moved through to the village of Diernstein, but had scarcely cleared the avenue, when it was again saluted by some musket-shots; upon which Major Henriod exclaimed, "Come, hundredth, here are the Russians again: let us charge; but, remember, no prisoners!" At this instant a mistake was discovered; the troops opposite cried out, "We are Dupont's division. Welcome, my lads; we thought you were all made prisoners."

This affair, in the night of the 11th, had cost Gazan's division more than twelve hundred men, killed, wounded, and prisoners: the Russians lost six thousand; five hundred of whom, wounded, were burned in the village. On that occasion Marshal Mortier was complimented by Napoleon; but, in consequence of a spirit of personality which sometimes prevailed, the official bulletins did not make mention of the gallant conduct of Major Henriod, to whom

the credit of saving the whole French division could not be denied, without manifest injustice.

The Russians being thus routed at Diernstein, one of those curious mistakes that frequently result from affairs in the night, occurred. A mass of Russians that had escaped from Diernstein, happened to take the direction of the level still occupied by the French, and found themselves in presence of some companies charged with covering the left of their column, then at a considerable distance. The Russians, whose fears were increased by that unexpected event, threw down their arms, and demanded quarter. The French general not understanding the Russian language, and imagining that he was also cut off, was so much alarmed, that he asked the same favour from the enemy; when a Russian officer, well acquainted with the French language, perceiving the mutual mistake, communicated the discovery to his countrymen, who, thus relieved from terror, recovered their arms, while the French were laying theirs down. But, as the latter also soon found out their error, they took advantage of the enemy's confusion and the darkness of the night, so that nearly the whole obtained their liberty, and rejoined the main army.

The last battle had totally disconcerted the plan of the Russians, who evacuated Krems, and quitted the Danube, leaving fifteen hundred prisoners in a state of great want. Marshal Mortier, and other divisions, set out in pursuit; so that while the French were advancing upon Vienna, the preservation of the bridges was a point of the highest importance. They marched close upon the enemy's rear-guard, and might have taken it, but avoided so doing, and suffered both troops and baggage to escape. To lull still more the vigilance of the Austrians, they circulated reports of peace, no one being permitted to enter Vienna; every thing however was examined, and all arrangements completed, when the Grand Duke took possession of the capital, and directed Lanusse and Bertrand to make a *reconnaisance* on the river without delay. They found, at the gates of

the suburb, a post of Austrian cavalry, and, as there had been no fighting for more than three days, it appeared as if an armistice had been entered into. Lanusse and Bertrand, accosting the Austrian commandant, commenced a conversation, following him closely, and not permitting him to quit them. On reaching the banks of the river, they still persisted in following, in spite of his wish to get rid of them, when the Austrian became impatient: the French generals then asked leave to communicate with the general commanding the troops stationed on the left bank of the river, and obtained acquiescence; the 10th hussars, however, were not allowed to accompany them, but required to halt and take a position. Meanwhile the French troops were advancing, led by the Grand Duke and Marshal Lasnes. The bridge still remained undamaged; but the trains were laid, and the gunners held their matches in readiness; the least sign tending to indicate the intention of passing by force, would have ruined the enterprise; it was necessary to adopt artifice, and French cunning prevailed over German simplicity. The two marshals dismounted, and only a small detachment entered upon the bridge; General Belliard also advanced, walking with his hands behind his back, accompanied by two officers of the staff; while Lasnes and some others joined, walking about unconcernedly, talking together, and at length joined the Austrians. The officer commanding the post, first directed they should stand back, but he at length permitted them to advance, and they joined in conversation. They repeated what had already been affirmed, namely, that negotiations were going on; that the war was at an end; that there would be no more fighting and slaughter. "Why," said the marshal, "do you keep your guns pointed at us? Do you wish to attack us, and prolong miseries that weigh heavier upon you than ourselves? Come, turn your guns." Half persuaded and half convinced, the commanding officer yielded. The artillery was turned in the direction of the Austrians, and the troops laid down their arms in heaps. During that con-

ference, a French platoon of the advanced guard came slowly up, and at length arrived, masking sappers and gunners, who threw the combustible matters into the river, sprinkled water on the powder, and cut the trains. The Austrian commander, not well enough acquainted with the French language to take much part in the conversation, perceived the troops were gaining ground, and endeavoured to make the French understand he could not permit it. Marshal Lasnes and General Belliard tried to satisfy him; they observed, the cold was severe; that the French troops were only marching about to warm themselves. But the column still continued to advance, and it was already three quarters over the bridge. The Austrian commander then lost all patience, and ordered his troops to fire; they instantly took up their arms, and the artillerymen prepared their guns. The situation of the French was then most dreadful; a little more presence of mind, on the part of their foes, and the bridge would have been blown up. Marshal Lasnes, however, seizing the Austrian commander by one arm, and General Belliard by the other, threatened him, and drowned his voice on his attempting to call for help. Meanwhile the Prince of Hogsberg arrived, accompanied by General Bertrand. An officer then set off to render an account of the actual state of affairs to the Grand Duke; and, on his way, transmitted to the troops an order to quicken their march, and arrive with all speed. The marshal advanced to meet the prince; complained of the conduct of the commandant of the advanced post; requested he should be punished, and removed from the rear-guard, where he might impede the negotiations. Hogsberg fell into the snare; he deliberated, approved, contradicted, and lost himself in a useless conversation. The French troops made the most of their time; they arrived, debouched, and the bridge was taken. Hogsberg, mortified at his ill-timed loquacity, complained to the Grand Duke, who, after a short conversation, referred him to Napoleon, and also crossed the river.

A short time previous, a small detachment of French, who had penetrated into Bohemia, suddenly found themselves in an open country; they did not like to fall back, yet dared not advance; when thus situated, the commander thought of an expedient. He collected all the baggage horses, mounted his infantry, and, thus equipped, led his men through the thick forest with his dragoons, about twenty in number. From some of the Austrian cavalry, whom they met near Egra, they took men, horses, and provisions; and on the Emperor reading the report given in upon that occasion, he asked General Rapp what he thought of such a new kind of cavalry, *viz.* the draught-horses? "Admirable, Sire," said he. To which Napoleon replied, that men who had French blood in their veins, always knew how to deal with their enemies.

But, to return to the operations of the armies: on the 13th of November, Murat entered and passed through Vienna, while Lasnes and General Bertrand were the first to pass over the bridge. The troops did not stop at Vienna, Murat establishing his head-quarters at the palace of Duke Albert, a great benefactor to that city, and Napoleon taking up his residence in the palace of Schoenbrunn. The cannon, arms, and ammunition found at Vienna, exceeded expectation; while the French confessed that the inhabitants of that city, by their conduct, evinced as much friendship for them as hatred towards the Russians, whose habits and barbarous manners were disgusting to all polished nations.

On the 15th, Murat, and the corps under General Lasnes, came up with the Russians at Hollebrun, where the French cavalry charged, and the former immediately abandoned the ground, leaving a hundred carriages with their equipage. An Austrian flag of truce then advanced, and demanded permission for the Russian troops to separate from their corps, which was granted; and, soon after, M. le Baron de Wintzingerode, aide-de-camp general to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, presented himself at the advanced posts, demanding leave to capitulate for the

Russian army. Prince Murat thought it his duty to assent to that measure, which the Emperor disapproved, because M. de Wintzingerode was not furnished with full powers on the part of the Emperor of Russia. However, his Majesty, when ordering his army to march, declared, that if the Emperor Alexander would ratify the convention, he would do the same. Murat, having been informed that the Russian generals, immediately after signing the convention, were marching with part of their army to Znaim, and that it was likely the rest would follow and escape, informed them that the Emperor Napoleon had not ratified the convention, and that he must of course attack them.

After Murat had thus announced the rupture of the armistice, by the Emperor's order, his corps, and those of Marshals Lasnes and Soult, formed a junction. The Russians took up a position behind the village of Schoen Grabern, beyond which was a defile defended by six thousand of their best troops. The action began by some skirmishes with the cavalry; after which Marshal Lasnes ordered Oudinot's division of grenadiers to advance, and attack upon the front and left of the enemy's position. Marshal Soult caused their right to be turned by Lagrande's division, while Vandamme's corps supported that of the grenadiers.

General Oudinot, at the head of Mortier's grenadiers, rushed upon the Russians with his wonted impetuosity; but the latter having the advantage in their position, resisted the shock with firmness. The village of Schoen Grabern having been set on fire by the howitzers, at the commencement of the action, the flames were highly prejudicial to the French, by discovering their position and manœuvres, while the smoke, driven into their faces, deprived them of the same advantage over the Russians.

The division of Vandamme then advancing to the assistance of the grenadiers, some Russian officers came forward, crying out, "Don't fire, we are French." The fear of killing their comrades, of course deterred the troops, and they made a halt within half musket-shot of their ene-

mies, from whom they then received a murderous discharge. Enraged at such treachery, they rushed upon those pretended French, overthrew, and cut them in pieces. In fine, after an obstinate conflict, which lasted till eleven at night, the French found themselves masters of the field of battle, together with eighteen hundred prisoners, and twelve pieces of cannon.

The six thousand Russians engaged at Guntersdorf, showed themselves precisely such men as had been depicted by the great Frederick, when he said, that once killing was not sufficient for a Russian soldier; in fact, their protracted resistance gave the Russian army time to continue its retreat. In this they repaired the breach made in their reputation by the fatal issue of the battle of Diernstein; and General Oudinot, already covered with scars, was badly wounded in the combat, as well as his two aides-de-camp, Demangeot and Lamotte.

The advance of Murat, on the 16th of November, brought on the battle of Tuntersdorf, in which part of the Russian rear-guard was routed, leaving two thousand prisoners, and two thousand wounded on the field of battle.

On the 17th, Napoleon advanced his head-quarters to Znaim, where the Russian rear-guard, retreating towards Brunn, had left their sick; and, in constant pursuit of the enemy, Murat entered Brunn on the 18th. The Emperor Napoleon's head-quarters were then fixed at Pohorlitz, but he again arrived at Brunn on the 20th; and, on the 27th, receiving full powers of M. M. Stadion and de Giulay, he repeated the previous offer of an armistice, to spare the effusion of human blood. The Emperor, however, soon perceived that they had other projects in view; and, as their hope of success could only be derived from the side of the Russians, he easily conceived that the second and third armies being arrived, and near Olmutz, the proposed negotiations were only a *ruse de guerre*. Accordingly, on the 28th of December, at nine in the morning, a cloud of Cossacks, supported by Russian cavalry, made Murat's ad-

vanced posts fall back, surrounding Wischau, and taking fifty of the sixth regiment of dragoons. In the course of that day, the Emperor of Russia repaired to Wischau; and the whole of the Russian army took up a position behind that city. Napoleon then sent his aide-de-camp, General Savary, to compliment the Emperor of Russia; who spoke in warm terms of the handsome reception, favours, and personal sentiments of the Emperor of Russia, and even the Grand Duke Constantine, who showed him every attention: it was, however, easy to perceive, from the conversation he had, for three days, with nearly thirty coxcombs about the person of Alexander, that presumption, inconsiderateness, and imprudence, reigned in the decisions of the military as much as in the political cabinet, and that an army so conducted must of necessity commit great faults.

Napoleon's plan, from that moment, was to wait for them, and watch the most favourable moment for action. He therefore ordered his army to retreat in the night, as if he had actually been defeated; took a good position three leagues in the rear, and laboured with much ostentation at fortifying it, and raising batteries. He proposed an interview to the Emperor of Russia, who sent him his aide-de-camp, Prince Dolgorucki. That officer could not fail to remark, that every thing breathed fear and apprehension in the appearance of the French army. The placing strong guards, and fortifications thrown up with such haste, appeared to the Russian like the precautions of an army half beaten. Contrary to the Emperor's custom, who had never received flags of truce with so much circumspection, he proceeded in person to head-quarters. The Russian prince discussed every point with an air of impertinence difficult to be conceived; he was perfectly ignorant of the real state of affairs on the Continent; in a word, he was a young trumpeter for England. He spoke to Napoleon as if he had been conversing with a Russian officer; but the Emperor repressed his indignation, and the young man returned under a full conviction that the French army was

on the brink of ruin. Towards the close of the conversation, this messenger proposed to Napoleon the cession of Belgium, and that the iron crown should be placed on the head of one of the most implacable enemies of France.

With those young men, who had taken upon themselves to direct the affairs of Russia, it was no longer a question, whether the French army should be beaten, but whether it should be turned and taken. Several old Austrian generals, who had made campaigns against Napoleon, are said to have warned the Russian council against too much confidence, having to march against old soldiers and able officers. They said they had seen Napoleon, when reduced to a handful of men, repossess himself of victory, under the most difficult circumstances, by rapid and unforeseen operations, in which manner he had destroyed numerous armies. That here no advantage had been obtained; but, on the contrary, all the affairs with the Russian rear-guard had been in favour of the French. To such representations the presumptuous young men opposed the bravery of eighty thousand Russians, the enthusiasm inspired by the presence of their Emperor, and the picked corps of the imperial guard of Russia.

In the order of the day (December 1) before the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor Napoleon inserted the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers, the Russians are before you, to avenge the Austrian army at Ulm. They consist of the same battalions you beat at Hollebrun, and have constantly pursued. The positions we occupy are formidable; and, while they march to my right, they shall present me their flank.—Soldiers, I will direct myself all your battalions: I shall keep at a distance from the firing, if, with your accustomed bravery, you carry confusion and disorder into the enemy's ranks; but, should victory appear for a moment doubtful, you shall see your Emperor expose himself to the first blows; for victory cannot hesitate on this day, in which the honour of

the French infantry, of so much importance to the whole nation, is concerned. Suffer not the ranks to be thinned, under pretence of carrying off the wounded; but let each man be well persuaded that we must conquer these hirelings of England, who are animated with so deep a hatred to our nation. This victory must terminate our campaign; when we shall resume our winter-quarters, and be joined by the new armies forming in France. The peace which I make, will be worthy of my people, of you, and myself.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

It was early on the morning of the 2d of December, when the Emperor, with great joy, saw, from the heights, the Russian army beginning a movement, within twice the distance of cannon-shot, to turn his right. He said, several times, "Before to-morrow night, that army shall be in my power." Yet the enemy's idea was far different; he appeared before the French posts within pistol-shot. By a flank march, the Russians then defiled upon a line four leagues long. In passing the length of the French army, which intentionally seemed afraid of quitting its position, the Russians appeared to have but one fear, which was, that their enemy should escape. Every thing was done to favour such deception: Prince Murat sent out a small corps on the plain, which suddenly seemed astonished at the immense force of the enemy, and returned in haste.

At night, Napoleon went on foot, and *incog.*, to visit the posts, but was almost immediately recognised by the soldiers, who placed lighted straw upon long poles; when eighty thousand men joined in saluting him with acclamations, some to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation, others saying, that the army would to-morrow offer its *bouquet* to the Emperor. One of the oldest grenadiers went up to him, and said, "Sire, you need not expose yourself: I promise, in the name of the grenadiers, that you shall have only to fight with your eyes, and that we will

lay before you to-morrow the colours and artillery of the Russian army, in order to celebrate the anniversary of your coronation."

The Emperor remarked, on returning to his guard-house, a miserable straw cabin without a roof, which the grenadiers had raised for him—"This is the finest evening of my life; but I regret to think I shall lose a great number of those brave fellows. I feel, by the pain it gives me, that they are indeed my children; and I often reproach myself for this sentiment, for I fear it will terminate in rendering me unfit to carry on war."—The Emperor made his dispositions for battle immediately. Omitting the previous disposal of the different corps, for the sake of brevity, we must avail ourselves of the words of the celebrated bulletin of the day, dated Austerlitz, December the third.

"At one in the morning, the Emperor mounted on horseback, to visit the posts, reconnoitre the fires of the enemy, and procure an account of what the guards had learned of the movements of the Russians. He ascertained that they had passed the night in drunkenness and noise, and that a corps of Russian infantry had appeared in the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division under General Legrand, who had received orders to reinforce it. Day dawned at length on the second, the sun rose bright, and the anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor, upon which one of the greatest feats in arms of the age was to be performed, proved one of the finest days in autumn.

"This battle, which the soldiers persisted in calling the day of *The Three Emperors*, while others christened it that of *The Anniversary*, and which the Emperor named the battle of Austerlitz, will be ever memorable in the annals of the great nation. Napoleon, surrounded by all the marshals, waited only for the horizon to clear up, that he might issue his final orders; when, on the sun darting forth his first rays, each marshal joined his corps at full gallop. The Emperor said, in passing along the front of

several regiments, 'Soldiers, we must finish this campaign by a thunderbolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies;' and instantly hats were placed at the point of bayonets, and cries of *Vive l'Empereur* were the signal for battle. Immediately afterwards, the cannonade began at the extremity of the right, which the enemy's advanced guard had already outflanked; but the unexpected meeting with Marshal Davoust stopped the Russians short, and the battle began. Marshal Soult then put himself in motion, proceeding to the heights of the village of Pratzen, with Generals Vandamme and St. Hilaire's division, and cut off the enemy's right, whose movements became uncertain. Surprised by a flank march, while flying, believing itself to be attacking, and seeing itself attacked, it considered itself as half defeated. Prince Murat* was also in motion with his cavalry; and the left wing, under the command of General Lannes, marched forward, *en echelons*, by regi-

* Having recently had such frequent occasion to mention the gallant but unfortunate Murat, we conceive the following facts relating to that dauntless character may not be uninteresting to the reader.

The *Loggie di Raffaelle* was constructed by Pope Leo the Tenth, under the direction of Raphael. The second story is decorated with paintings by that divine genius and his pupils, in compartments, representing the leading incidents of the Scriptures. Those frescoes display the delicacy and beauty of miniatures, with all the grandeur of design which characterises great historical pictures. There Raphael worked in the midst of his young and ardent disciples; yet neither the sanctity of the subjects painted, nor the traces of Raphael's divine pencil, could save it from the vilest profanation, during the sway of the Austrians at Rome. Those German barbarians turned that wing of the pontifical palace into a barrack; and walls imprinted with the image of the divinity, and consecrated to art, were smoked with the fires which those savages kindled, in order to dress their garbage. When Murat arrived in Rome with the army, his first visit was to the Loggia of Raphael, when, perceiving how much the paintings had been injured by exposure for ages to the action of the air and the inclemency of the weather, he ordered the whole side which was open to be framed and sashed with handsome windows. That work was completed in fourteen days; and, had it not been done during his occupation, in all probability it would have remained in its then wretched situation. Posterity therefore owes to that brave, kind-hearted, and unfortunate man, the preservation of the most precious treasures of the arts. The rooms adjoining are called *Camere di Raffaello* (the Chambers of Raphael): they were four in number, and contain the subjects of the famous cartoons, &c. &c. each room deriving its name from the subject painted on its walls.

The *Pensionnal* of the *Miracoli* was an establishment for the education of female youth; and, in its importance, extent, and magnifi-

ments, in the same manner as if they had been exercising by divisions. A tremendous cannonade then took place along the whole line; two hundred and three pieces of cannon, and nearly two hundred thousand men, being engaged, so that it was really a giant combat. Not an hour had elapsed, when the enemy's whole left was cut off, his right having already attained Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the two Emperors, who marched immediately to the Emperor of Russia's guard, to restore the communication of the centre with the left. A battalion of the 4th of the line was charged by the imperial Russian guards, on horseback, and routed; but the Emperor was at hand, who, perceiving this movement, ordered Marshal Bessieres to succour the right, with his Invincibles, and the two guards were soon engaged. Success could not be doubtful—in a moment the Russians were routed; their colonel, artillery, standards, and every thing being captured. The regiment of the Grand Duke Constantine was annihilated, who owed his personal safety only to the swiftness of his horse.

"From the heights of Austerlitz the two Emperors beheld the defeat of all the Russian guard; while, at the same moment, the centre of the army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, advanced, three of his regiments performing a very fine charge of cavalry. The left, commanded by Marshal Lasnes, equally made several; in all of which the French were victorious. General Caffarelli's division no less distinguished itself; and the cuirassier division took the enemy's batteries. At one *p. m.* the victory was decided: it had never been doubtful for a moment: not a man of the reserve was required; so that a cannonade was only kept up on the right. The enemy's corps, which had been surrounded and driven from all the heights, was then on a flat, near a lake, whither the Emperor hastened, with

cence, closely resembled those of Milan and Lodi, having been the work of Murat, and greatly forwarded by the zeal and personal superintendance of his wife, whose last words to all the Neapolitans, whom she saw previous to her embarkation on board the English frigate, were—"*Watch over the Miracoli!—preserve my school.*"

twenty pieces of cannon. That corps was driven from position to position; and the French saw the horrid spectacle of twenty thousand men precipitating themselves into the lake. Two columns of Russians, four thousand each, also laid down their arms, and surrendered prisoners; while all the enemy's park of artillery was taken.

"The result of that tremendous day was forty Russian standards, among which were those of the imperial guard; a considerable number of prisoners, the *état major* not having as then ascertained how many, though it already had an account of twenty thousand, twelve or fifteen generals, and at least fifteen thousand Russians left dead on the field of battle. The French loss, at the first *coup d'œil*, was estimated at eight hundred killed, and fifteen or sixteen thousand wounded, which will not surprise military tacticians, who know, that it is only during a rout men are lost; and no other French corps, but the battalion of the 4th, was penetrated. Amongst the wounded were General St. Hilaire, who, though struck at the beginning of the battle, remained the whole day on the field, and covered himself with glory; the generals of division, Kellerman and Walther; and the generals of brigade, Valhabert, Thiebault, Sebastiani, Compar, and Rapp, the Emperor's aide-de-camp. It was the latter who, when charging at the head of the grenadiers of the guard, took Prince Repnin, captain of the chevaliers of the imperial guard of Russia. With respect to the men who distinguished themselves, it was the whole army that covered itself with glory, constantly charging to the cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, influenced by the idea of celebrating so gloriously the coronation of their leader. The French army, though fine, was less numerous than that of the enemy, consisting of one hundred and five thousand men—eighty thousand Russians and twenty-five thousand Austrians; half of whom were destroyed, and the rest completely routed, the greater part having thrown away their arms.

"This day will cost tears of blood at St. Petersburg.

May it cause the gold of England to be rejected with indignation! and may that young prince, whom so many virtues called to be the father of his subjects, tear himself from the influence of those thirty coxcombs, whom England pays, and whose impertinence injures his intentions, makes him lose the love of his soldiers, and hurries him into the most ill-judged operations. Nature, in endowing him with so many great qualities, had intended him to be the consoler of Europe. Perfidious counsels, by rendering him the auxiliary of England, will rank him, in history, among men who, perpetuating the war upon the Continent, will have consolidated British tyranny upon the seas, and produced the misery of our generation. If France cannot arrive at peace, but on the conditions proposed by the aide-de-camp Dolgorucki to the Emperor, and which M. Novosiltzoff was ordered to make, Russia should not obtain them, were her army encamped upon the heights of Montmartre. In a more detailed relation of this battle, the *état major* will make known what each corps, officers, and generals, has done to render the French name illustrious, and afford proofs of its love for the Emperor.*

* In reference to the celebrated battle of Austerlitz, we quote the following narrative from the authentic records of Count Rapp:—

"We arrived at Austerlitz. The Russians had a force superior to ours. They had repulsed our advanced-guard, and they thought us already subdued. The attack commenced; but, instead of that easy conquest which had been obtained merely by their guard, they everywhere experienced the most obstinate resistance. The battle had already lasted an hour, and it was still far from being decided in their favour. They resolved to make a last attempt on our centre. The imperial guards deployed; infantry, cavalry, and artillery, advanced on the bridge, without the movement being perceived by Napoleon; for the nature of the ground screened it from his observation. A discharge of musketry was soon heard: a brigade, commanded by General Schinner, had been penetrated by the Russians. Napoleon ordered me to take the Mamelukes, two squadrons of chasseurs, and one of grenadiers of the guard, and go forward to reconnoitre the state of things. I set off at full gallop, and it was not until I came within gun-shot of the scene of action, that I discovered the disaster. The enemy's cavalry was in the midst of our square, and sabring our troops. A little farther back we discerned masses of infantry and cavalry forming the reserve. The enemy relinquished the attack, and turned to meet me. Four pieces of artillery arrived and were placed in battery. I advanced in good order; I had the brave Colonel Morland on my left, and General Dallemagne on my right. 'Do you see,'

"On the 3d, at day-break, Prince John of Lichtenstein, commanding the Austrian army, appeared at the Em-

said I, to my troop, 'our friends and brothers trampled on by the enemy: avenge them, avenge our colours.' We rushed on the artillery, which was taken. The cavalry, who awaited us, was repulsed by the same shock; they fled in disorder, and we, as well as the enemy, trampled over the bodies of our troops, whose squares had been penetrated. The men who had escaped being wounded were rallied. A squadron of horse grenadiers arrived to reinforce me; and I was enabled to receive the reserves, which came up in aid of the Russian guard. We resumed the attack, which was maintained with terrible fury. The infantry dared not venture to fire; all was confusion; we fought man to man. Finally, the intrepidity of our troops triumphed over every obstacle. The Russians fled and dispersed. Alexander and the Emperor of Austria witnessed the defeat. Stationed on a height, at a little distance from the field of battle, they saw the guard, which was expected to decide the victory, cut to pieces by a handful of brave men. Their guns and baggage had fallen into our hands, and Prince Repnin was our prisoner. Unfortunately, we had a great number of men killed and wounded. Colonel Morland was no more, and I had myself received a sabre wound in the head.

"After the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon made me a General of Division, and sent me to the Castle of Austerlitz, until I should recover from my wound, which, however, was not dangerous. The Emperor visited me several times; once on the day on which he granted an interview to the Emperor of Austria. He put into my hands two letters, which had been intercepted by our advanced posts; one was from Prince Charles, and the other from a Prince Lichtenstein. Their contents were rather important, and I got them translated. On his way back in the evening, Napoleon came and had these letters read to him. He talked to me a great deal about Francis II., his complaints and regrets; and told me many curious circumstances respecting him.

"We set out for Schoenbrunn; and, in about a fortnight after our arrival, Napoleon sent for me: 'Are you able to travel?' said he; 'Yes, Sire.'—'Well, then, go and give an account of the battle of Austerlitz to Marmont, in order to vex him for not having come up; and observe the effect that it will produce on the Italians.' He then gave me the following instructions:—

"'Monsieur General Rapp, you will proceed to Gratz, where you will remain as long as may be necessary to communicate to General Marmont the details of the battle of Austerlitz. Inform him that the negotiations are open, but that nothing is concluded; and that he must therefore hold himself in readiness for any event that may occur. You must also make yourself acquainted with General Marmont's situation, and ascertain what number of the enemy's force is before him. Tell him, that I desire he will send spies into Hungary; and that he will communicate to me all the information he may collect. You must next repair to Laybach, where you will find Marshal Massena, who has the command of the eighth corps; and transmit to me a correct report of his situation. You will inform Massena, that if the negotiations are broken off, as it is possible they may, he will be sent to Vienna. Let me know what amount of the enemy's force Marshal Massena has before him; and report to me the situation of his corps in every point of view. You will next proceed to Palmanova, after strongly urging Marshal Massena to arm and provision the

peror's head-quarters, which were in a barn, and had a long audience; notwithstanding which, we pursued our successes, the enemy having retired by the road of Austerlitz to Godding. The French army was already on his rear, and following him sword in hand. Never was there a more horrible field of battle. From the middle of the immense lakes were still heard the cries of thousands who could not be assisted. Three days must elapse ere all the wounded enemy can be carried to Brunn. The heart bleeds. May so much bloodshed, may so many miseries, fall, at length, upon the perfidious islanders who are the causers of it! May the cowardly oligarchs of London bear the burthen of so many evils!"

The day after this battle, Napoleon addressed to his army the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers, I am satisfied with you; you have, on the day of Austerlitz, justified every thing I expected from your intrepidity. You have decorated your eagles with immortal glory. An army of a hundred thousand men, commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, has been, in less than four hours, either cut down or dispersed;

fortress in an effectual way; and you will inform me of the state in which it is. Next proceed and examine the posts we occupy before Venice, and ascertain the state of our troops. Thence you will repair to the army of General St. Cyr, who is about to march on Naples: you must ascertain the nature and the amount of his force. You must return by the way of Klagenfurth, where you will see Marshal Ney, and then rejoin me. Do not fail to write from every place at which you stop. Despatch estafettes to me from Gratz, Laybach, Palmanova, Venice, and the spot where the army of Naples may be stationed. I pray God to take you into his holy keeping.

"'NAPOLEON.

"'Schoenbrunn,
"'25 Frimaire, year XIV.'

"I rejoined Napoleon at Munich, whither he had gone to be present at the marriage of Prince Eugene. The Prince came from Italy, and I accompanied him. During my absence, peace had been concluded at Vienna. The Emperor had an interview with Prince Charles: he intended to have presented him with a magnificent sword; but he was displeased with the Archduke, and the sword was not given.

"We set out for Paris. Acclamations resounded on every side: Napoleon had never been received with so much enthusiasm."

the portion which escaped your sword has been drowned in the lakes.

"Forty colours, the standards of the imperial Russian guard, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, more than thirty thousand prisoners, are the result of this ever-memorable day.

"That infantry, so highly boasted of, and so superior in number, could not resist your attack; and, henceforward, you have no rivals to dread.

"Thus, in two months, this third coalition has been conquered and dissolved. Peace can no longer be distant: but, as I promised my people before crossing the Rhine, I will ratify such a peace only, as shall afford us guarantees, and secure rewards to our allies.

"Soldiers, when the French people placed upon my head the imperial crown, I relied upon you to maintain it in that splendour of glory, which alone could give it value in my estimation. But, at the same moment, our enemies sought to destroy and degrade it: and this iron crown, conquered by the blood of so many French, they would compel me to place on the head of one of our most implacable enemies: rash and foolish project! which, upon the very day of the Emperor's coronation, you have frustrated and confounded. You have taught them that it is easier to defy and threaten, than to conquer.

"Soldiers, when all that is necessary to secure the happiness and prosperity of our country shall be accomplished, I will lead you back to France; there you shall be the objects of my most tender solicitude; my people will behold you again with joy, and it will be sufficient for you to say, 'I was at the battle of Austerlitz,' to authorise the reply—'Behold a brave man!'

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

CHAP. XVI.

Bulletins written by Napoleon—Interview with the Emperor of Germany—Mission of General Savary to the Emperor of Alexander—Notes written in pencil by the latter to Napoleon: his Observations on the Character of the Autocrat—Retreat of the Russian Army—Heroic Deeds—Proclamation issued from Schoenbrunn—The Love of Liberty effaced by Military Glory—The Campaign of 1805 in Italy—Passage of the Adige—Affairs of St. Michel, Cara Albertini, and Caldiero—Passage of the Brenta, the Piave, and the Tagliamento—Battle of Castel Franco—Treaty of Presburg—Interviews of Count Haugwitz with Napoleon—The Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg declared Kings—Marriage of Prince Eugene with the Princess of Bavaria.

MANY of the bulletins of the French army are known to have been written by Napoleon. Perhaps there is not one among them, in which more of this extraordinary man may be traced, than in the thirty-first, dated Austerlitz, December 5, which describes the interview between himself and the Emperor of Germany, with the interesting communications that passed between the former and the Emperor Alexander, who was absolutely a prisoner, till he had agreed to the capitulation proposed by Napoleon; in short, the anecdotes included in that bulletin could not be related with better effect.

"The Emperor, we are informed, left Austerlitz on December 4, and proceeded to the advanced posts near Suruchets, where he had fixed his night-guard. The Emperor of Germany arrived soon after, when those monarchs had an interview, which lasted two hours. The Emperor of Germany did not conceal his own contempt, and that of the Emperor of Russia, inspired by the conduct of the ministers of England. 'They,' said he, 'are the merchants, who fan the fire of discord upon the Continent, in order to secure to themselves the commerce of the world.' Those two princes then agreed upon an armistice, and the principal conditions of peace. The Emperor of Germany also made known to Napoleon, that the Emperor of Russia was desirous of making a separate peace, and would entirely abandon England. The Emperor of Germany several times

repeated during the conversation, that there was no doubt the quarrel with England had been just, on the part of France; and he also demanded a truce for the remains of the Russian army. The Emperor Napoleon gave Francis to understand, that the Russian forces being surrounded, not a man could escape: 'But (added he) as I wish to oblige the Emperor Alexander, I will suffer the Russians to pass; I will order my own columns to halt; but your Majesty must promise that the Russian army shall return to Russia, and evacuate Germany, as well as Austrian and Prussian Poland.' 'That (answered the Emperor of Germany), I can assure you, is the intention of the Emperor Alexander.'—Bonaparte then continued, 'I receive you in the only palace I have inhabited for these two months.' The Emperor Napoleon then went over the field of battle, ordering the wounded to be removed, when some of those unfortunates, forgetting their sufferings, demanded, 'Is the victory quite certain?' So long as forty-eight hours after the battle, there were a number of wounded Russians who could not be dressed. The foot-guards of the Emperor not having been permitted to engage, absolutely wept through spite, and insisted upon doing something. 'Be satisfied,' said Napoleon, 'you are the reserve; it will be better if you have nothing to do to-day.' The commander of the artillery of the imperial Russian guard having lost his cannon, met the Emperor, 'Sire,' said he, 'order me to be shot; I have lost my cannon.' 'Young man,' replied Napoleon, 'I esteem your tears; but one may be beaten by my army, and still retain some pretension to glory.' The French artillery did prodigious injury to the enemy. The Emperor said, 'That affords me pleasure; it was in this corps I began my military career.' General Savary, aide-de-camp to Napoleon, after the interview between his master and the Emperor of Germany, is *said*, in the bulletin, to have accompanied the latter, to know whether Alexander would agree to the capitulation. 'Tell your Emperor,' said the latter prince, 'I shall retire; that yesterday he

performed miracles; and that my astonishment respecting him has increased; he is some chosen instrument of heaven; and that it will require a century to make my army equal to his. But can I withdraw with safety?' 'Yes, sire,' said General Savary, 'if your Majesty is resolved to accede to the capitulation proposed.'—'And what are its conditions?' 'That your Majesty's army shall withdraw by the routes prescribed by the Emperor; when I have authority to repair to my nearest advanced posts, which have already surrounded you, and give them orders to cover your retreat.'—'But what pledge must I give you?' 'Sire, your word.'—'I give it.'—Thereupon the adjutant withdrew, full gallop, to Marshal Davoust, and put a stop to all the movements of the army."

It appears extremely singular, that a negotiation of such magnitude should have been carried on verbally. This does not receive any confirmation from M. Las Cases, who has asserted, that, since he returned to Europe from St. Helena, he had been assured that two notes existed, written in pencil by the Emperor Alexander, urgently soliciting Napoleon that he might be allowed to pass, after the battle. "If such be the fact," he adds, "what a singular vicissitude of fortune presents itself! The magnanimous conqueror was doomed to perish in captivity, remote from Europe, and separated from his family; and this, too, in the name of the conquered party, to whose solicitations he had so generously listened."

The Emperor Alexander, in that supposed conversation with General Savary, allowed it was the first time he had seen fire; that Napoleon was a great warrior; and that he never thought of comparing himself with him. It was said, that Bonaparte observed, after his conference with the Emperor of Germany, "This man makes me commit a fault; for I could follow up my victory, and take the whole Austrian and Russian armies; but a few tears the less will be shed."

The Russian army began its march on the 8th of De-

cember, in three columns, and the Emperor Alexander went at the head of the first. Several deeds of valour came to light within a few days after that great battle. A carabinier lost his arm by a shot: "Help me," said he to his comrade, "to take off my cartridge-box, and hasten forward to avenge my loss; I want no other assistance."—General Valhubert's leg was carried away by a ball; four soldiers approached to take him up, "Mind the order of the day," said he, "and join your ranks; return victors, and carry me off when the battle is ended; if you are beaten, my life will only be a burthen."

Previous to Napoleon's departure from Schoenbrunn, on the 27th of December, he issued the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers! Peace between me and the Emperor of Austria is signed. You have, in this late season of the year, made two campaigns. You have performed every thing I expected. I am setting out for my capital. I have promoted and distributed rewards to those who have most distinguished themselves. I will perform every thing I have promised. You have seen that your Emperor has shared all your dangers and fatigues: you shall likewise behold him surrounded by all that grandeur and splendour which become the sovereign of the first nation in the world. In the beginning of the month of May, I will give a grand festival at Paris: you shall all be there. We will celebrate the memory of those who, in these campaigns, have fallen on the field of honour. The world shall see that we are ready to follow their example, and, if necessary, do more than we have done, against those who suffer themselves to be misled by the gold of the eternal enemy of the Continent."

The intelligence of the successes of the army of Germany was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the majority of the French people. From that moment, the fanaticism of military glory quite effaced the few remaining impressions made by the love of liberty. Napoleon had well calculated the results; he polished and brightened the

fetters which he intended for his fellow citizens; and, by that means, avoided exciting the recrimination which might have been awakened by wounding the national pride.

It was the primary intention of the Austrian cabinet to employ its best troops, first in Italy, then Helvetia, and, lastly, France, in the department of ancient Franche Comté. The great distance of Napoleon's armies, at that time opposite the English coast, inspired the members of the Aulic Council with hopes that they would arrive too late to assist his legions in Italy, and thus resist a sudden and unexpected attack. It appears, the just alarms of the British government had occasioned the first alteration in this plan; and then the promptitude with which the corps of the French grand army had marched from the shores of the ocean to the banks of the Rhine, as well as the able and not less rapid march of the same army from the Rhine to the Danube, and the brilliant victories that succeeded. Those causes united, prevented the Archduke Charles from opening the campaign in Italy with that promptitude Austria had required. Besides, he had been obliged to detach some of his corps to reinforce the army of Germany; and, in that state of things, he was compelled to remain inactive upon the left shore of the Adige.

The Emperor Napoleon, however, (whose orders were executed at once upon the coasts of the German Ocean, and those of the Adriatic, in the kingdom of Naples,) had collected, upon the frontiers of his new kingdom of Italy, all the troops dispersed in the interior, and entrusted the command of the same to Marshal Massena. Those under Gouvion St. Cyr, stationed in the kingdom of Naples, were also ordered to advance, by forced marches, to the right bank of the Adige; so that the whole, amounting to about forty or fifty thousand men, formed five divisions of infantry, and occupied a line upon the Adige, nearly parallel with that of the Austrians on the other side of that river.

Prince Eugene Beauharnois, as viceroy of the kingdom

of Italy, while busily engaged in those preparations for an approaching rupture, published the following address:—

"PEOPLE OF ITALY,

"The cabinet of Vienna has determined upon war against you and the French nation. It has dared to say, that this war has been provoked by you and the French people. You will not be easily persuaded to believe such a strange calumny. People of Italy, you know, that, for five months past, Austria has not ceased to collect fresh forces under your eyes, in order to victual her garrisons, and threaten your frontiers. You know that the Emperor Napoleon, informed of all those hostile preparations with which you have been so justly alarmed, has, in some degree, endeavoured to persuade himself that the cabinet of Vienna could not be unjust and disloyal. You know that, even when you were menaced with the invasion of your territory, the Emperor did not refuse to listen to your representations, and take military measures to dissipate them. In fine, you know how often you have been astonished and alarmed, and that you have even complained of his forbearance: he could not give credit to hostile intentions; he demanded explanations; he did not recal his ambassador; he considered the residence of the Austrian envoy at Paris as a proof that the House of Austria was equally desirous with himself for peace. People of Italy, from you I expect zeal, devotion, and courage. You know the unlimited confidence you ought to place in that portion of the French army assembled in Italy. You know what confidence is due to *the darling of victory*, (Massena,) to whom the Emperor has entrusted the honour of your defence. People of Italy, your King reckons upon you. Confide in him. The god of armies is for him, and always terrible to the perjured. He has on his side glory, genius, the justice of his cause, the valour, fidelity, and love of his people. Our enemies shall be conquered."

The Archduke Charles, who commanded in Italy, almost immediately after his arrival in that quarter, proposed an armistice to Marshal Massena, who, as it suited his convenience, accepted it; and, accordingly, hostilities were postponed till the 18th of October, 1805, upon which day the bridge of the old castle was carried, and the French army passed the Adige on the spot.

Massena's instructions bound him to regulate his movements by those of the grand army in Germany, of which that of Italy might be considered as the right wing. On that account, though master of the passage of the Adige, he deferred attacking the Austrian troops till the 29th of October; soon after which, the affairs of St. Michel and Caldiero took place. There three thousand five hundred men were made prisoners; and the number killed was so considerable, that the Archduke demanded a truce, in order to bury the dead.

At Cara Albertini, a short time after, five thousand Austrians laid down their arms. Then followed the passage of the Brenta, the Piave, the Tagliamento, and the affair of Castel Franco; by which means, the French army of Italy approached that of Germany sooner than could have been expected, by persons unacquainted with the accustomed celerity of Napoleon's movements. On the 29th of October, the Austrian general, Hillenger, being separated from the Archduke's army, after wandering some time among the mountains of San Leonardo, with a view of regaining the route from Verona to Vicenza, was compelled to surrender five thousand prisoners, with their arms and baggage, seventy officers, a brigadier-general, &c. The Archduke, fearing that event might enable the enemy to turn him in his position before Villa Nova, commenced his retreat on the night between the 1st and 2d of November, and, on the 3d, fixed his head-quarters at Montebello.

Vicenza had been fortified by the Archduke, with a view of arresting the progress of the French; but General Lacombe St. Michel forced the place, at day-break, on the

4th of November. The Archduke then took the road to Bassano, followed by the French, who came up with his rear-guard, and continued their march towards the Brenta, dispersing and making the Austrians prisoners during the whole route to Tagliamento, which they passed, after a brisk cannonade, still driving the imperialists before them.

Marshal Massena, thinking the Archduke would make a stand at Gorizia, took his dispositions for attacking the place on the morning of the 17th of November; but the Austrians, not choosing to hazard an action, availed themselves of the darkness of the night to hasten their retreat, pursued by General d'Espagne, to Laybach. At Isonzo, the French halted for a time, in order to rest their troops. At Wippach, General d'Espagne again came up with a part of the enemy's rear-guard, which he pushed on to Gantz, making a number of prisoners. The whole of the Austrian cavalry had retired by the high road of Laybach, with a corps of infantry. Some of those, detached to Ober Laybach, were pursued by five companies of voltigeurs, while the French general took the high road to Preswald, where the enemy was intrenched.

On the 20th of November, Massena detached the division of Seras to take possession of Trieste, when the garrison abandoned that city, and took the route to Laybach, leaving one hundred and fifty prisoners.

The marshal, feeling the necessity of opening a communication with the grand army under Napoleon in Germany, and thinking it was probable the Emperor might have pushed a corps towards La Chiusa de Pletz, detached General Lacour and some light infantry towards that pass, a very important post in the chain of the Noric Alps; when General Lacour found that post abandoned, and continued his march to Willach.

It appeared afterwards that the conjecture of Massena had been well founded, as the retreat of the Austrians from Chiusa de Pletz had been occasioned by Napoleon's detaching the corps of Marshal Ney towards Carinthia,

after having traversed the northern Tyrol. Ponteba, another post, had also been evacuated by the Austrians, from the same motives.

While the army of Italy was thus rapidly advancing towards Carniola, the French troops, marching from the kingdom of Naples, had arrived at Padua, under Generals St. Cyr and Regnier. Those corps were enabled to observe Venice and the Lagunes; while Massena continued to advance upon Laybach. General Regnier fell in with an Austrian corps under the Prince de Rohan, a French emigrant, near Castel Franco, who capitulated with six thousand men. That prince, several colonels, and a great number of officers, were among the prisoners; with several pieces of cannon, standards, &c. and the whole of the baggage. The French garrison, taken by the Austrians at Bassano, was found at Castel Franco, and set at liberty.

Two days after the affair of Castel Franco, a body of one thousand five hundred Croats, part of the troops of the Tyrol, were surrounded and taken, while debouching from the mountains. General Lacour having arrived at Willach, pushed on to Clagenfurth, where he effected the junction of the army of Italy with the grand army, part of which was already in possession of that city. The Italian campaign of 1805 added new lustre to the reputation of Marshal Massena, whose manœuvres upon the Adige and the Isonzo proved that the conqueror of Zurich deserved to rank among the most able of the French generals.

Thus, in the course of two months, Napoleon had defeated two emperors on the field of battle, and, by his uncommon activity, exposed the political combinations of the English, disconcerted the plans of the allies, and compelled the Emperor Francis to sign the humiliation of the House of Austria, by the treaty of Presburg that followed, when he ratified a separate peace.

Prussia being apparently upon good terms with the Directory and its various successors, never seemed inclined

to break with France till she had obtained a regular government.

In the spring of 1805, the Prussian monarch, having been seduced by the gold of England on one side, and the promises and presence of the Emperor of Russia on the other, was led to enter into positive engagements with Russia, about the middle of October.

But the preparatives for war, already commenced in the Prussian states, were considerably retarded by the rapid successes of the grand French army in Swabia. Count Haugwitz, who had been selected to convey to Napoleon a threatening ultimatum, received orders to hasten his departure, and, proceeding through Bohemia, gained General Bernadotte's head-quarters, at Iglau, four days before the battle of Austerlitz. His arrival being announced to Napoleon, he gave orders that the count should be detained, as he was upon the point of giving battle to the Austro-Russians. During that interval Bernadotte marched, at the head of the divisions of Drouet and Rivaud, towards Brunn; while the French generals who remained at Iglau disputed for the honour of entertaining the Prussian minister with all the respect due to his rank. He wished much to proceed to the imperial head-quarters, but was informed that the Emperor was then visiting the advanced posts of his army, and would probably return in three or four days, However, M. Haugwitz arrived at Brunn on the 2d of December, and had an audience with Napoleon on the following day, at the bivouac near the post-house at Posoritz; but, as the Russian advanced posts were engaged, Napoleon told him to go and await the result of the battle at Vienna. "I shall beat them," said he: "tell me nothing to-day; I do not wish to know any thing." Haugwitz, who was no novice in business, did not wait to be ordered a second time. Bonaparte could not conceal the displeasure which the conduct of the King of Prussia had given him, in that first interview with this minister, though, on his return to Brunn, he seemed to be better

satisfied with the explanations received: he confined himself to the negotiation for some exchange of territory, the conditions of which would be no further disadvantageous to Prussia, than laying her under obligations to exclude the English from the ports of the Ems, the Elbe, and the Weser. In what manner the Prussian monarch was at length involved in a fatal war with France, will appear in the sequel.

On the 27th of December, 1805, an official bulletin, issued from the palace of Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, announced to Europe the promotion of the Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburg to the rank of monarchs, without ceasing to belong to the Confederation of the Rhine; the re-union of Venice to the kingdom of Italy; and the resolution of the French Emperor to expel the King of Naples and his family from his throne. Napoleon had also demanded the hand of the Princess Amelia Augusta of Bavaria for Prince Eugene, whom he proposed to adopt for his son.

CHAP. XVII.

Enthronement of the Kings of Wirtemburg and Bavaria—Adoption of the Viceroy of Italy—Deposition of the King of Naples, and Elevation of Joseph Napoleon—Proclamation—Massena sent to Naples—Offensive Conduct of the British Ministry respecting Prussia—Occupation of Dalmatia and Istria—Transfer of the Tyrolese Country—Mr. Fox appointed to the British Ministry—Pantheon at Paris restored—Church of St. Denis—Historical import of Napoleon's Speech to the Legislative Body—Marriage of the Prince of Baden with Stephanie Beauharnois—Anecdotes of that interesting Lady—Constitution and Conduct of Napoleon's Council of State—State Prisons in France—English and French Freedom compared.

On the 1st of January, 1806, the new kings of Wirtemburg and Bavaria were enthroned with much solemnity at Munich and Stuttgard. On the same day, the French Tribunate presented to the Senate the Russian and Austrian colours taken at Austerlitz, and sent to Paris by Napoleon, together with the ratifications of the treaty of Presburg, which had been exchanged at Vienna, that city

not being entirely evacuated by the French troops till nine days after Napoleon had quitted it, being the 29th of December, when he proceeded to Munich, where he arrived on the 31st. There he received the Viceroy of Italy, whom he adopted as his son on the 12th, and saw married to the Princess Royal of Bavaria on the day following.

Ready to avail himself of every circumstance which could increase his power and dominions, already dangerous from their vast extent, Napoleon began the year 1806 with a series of usurpations, which the weakness of his enemies constrained them to tolerate; and, favoured by the deaths of some of his most formidable antagonists, especially the celebrated William Pitt, he no doubt flattered himself with being able to pursue such a line of conduct with more confidence and security than ever.

The King of Naples was the first monarch doomed to feel the weight of Napoleon's vengeance. Queen Caroline, who had the entire government of her spouse, and always influenced by her hatred against France, had promised to make a powerful diversion in favour of England, with the assistance of the Russian and British troops whom she expected at Naples. Hitherto, Napoleon's unexpected successes had prevented her from carrying that project into execution; but, according to the too common practice of diplomatists, the allies, after their defeat, made no scruple in abandoning the unfortunate Queen, whom they had hurried to the very brink of ruin.

On the 8th of January, the English forces had arrived at Naples as auxiliaries, but, in a few days, they re-embarked for Sicily; and the Russians, who had presented themselves on the same errand, set sail for Corfu, on the 13th of January, 1806.

Napoleon, who destined the crown of Naples for his brother Joseph, had appointed him general-in-chief of the army sent to invade the territory, an event preceded by the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers! For ten years I have endeavoured to save

the King of Naples: he has done every thing to ruin himself. After the battles of Dego, Mondovi, and Lodi, he could only oppose to me a feeble resistance. I trusted to the words of that prince, and treated him with generosity. When the second coalition was dissolved at Marengo, the King of Naples, who was the first to commence that unjust war, being abandoned at Luneville by his allies, remained alone, and without defence. He imploredt my clemency, and I pardoned him a second time.

"A few months ago you were at the gates of Naples. I had then legitimate reasons to suspect the treason he meditated, and for avenging the outrages committed upon me; but I was again generous. I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples; I ordered you to evacuate the kingdom, and the House of Naples was saved and established the third time. Shall we confide in a court without faith, honour, or sense, a fourth time? No, no. The dynasty of Naples has ceased to reign: its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe, and the honour of my crown.

"Soldiers! my brother will march at your head; he knows my projects, he is the depository of my authority, and possesses the whole of my confidence; let him also possess yours. Soldiers, march, and, if it is necessary, drive those feeble battalions of the tyrants of the seas into the ocean. Let the world see how we punish perjury. Do not be long in letting me know that all Italy has submitted to my laws and those of my allies, and that the finest country in the world is freed from the yoke of the most perfidious of men; that the sanctity of treaties is avenged, and that the manes of my brave soldiers, assassinated in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, are appeased."

Marshal Massena, in the meantime, was charged with directing the movements of the army, in which Gouvion St. Cyr and Regnier acted as lieutenant-generals. While Massena was preparing for that grand enterprise, the British ministers exhibited an example of indiscretion, sufficient in itself to deter any power whatsoever from entering into

alliance with them. They laid before the House of Commons complete copies of the treaties concluded with Austria, Russia, and Sweden, and thus provoked a public discussion of their contents; a step involving a disclosure which Prussia was very unwilling to sanction, especially since the termination of the campaign. In fact, the same King of Prussia, whom the British ministry had compromised much less than he had himself done by his own conduct, three days after the opening of Parliament, on the 24th of January, announced to his army, by means of an article inserted in the gazette of Berlin, "the continuance of peace," which, to the eyes of impartial men, sufficiently exposed the absurd enterprises in which he had been secretly engaged, previous to the end of the year 1805.

On the same day, when that article appeared in the official gazette at Berlin, the Grand Duke Constantine, who arrived there soon after the battle of Austerlitz, left the city, but not without taking leave of Baron Hardenberg, then considered as the head of the English party in the Prussian cabinet. Soon after the Prussian troops invaded the Electorate of Hanover, an act of hostility, both against England and Sweden, in favour of which this court had armed but one month before, and, six months after, was again compelled to repeat, though at the hazard of its existence.

On the other hand, the allies of France began to enjoy the advantages procured by the treaty of Presburg. Napoleon passed the Rhine, and arrived at Paris on the 26th of January, 1806. He had already distributed his troops in such a manner as to act as an army of observation upon Prussia: hence the seventh corps of the grand army, under Marshal Augereau, began to establish itself about Frankfort on the Maine, at which place Augereau fixed his headquarters. Negotiations, however, still continued between the Prussian cabinet and that of the Tuileries; and, on the 8th of March, the Prussian envoy, M. Haugwitz, concluded a treaty, by virtue of which, Frederick William accepted

Hanover in exchange for several Prussian provinces, Anspach being given to Bavaria; while the principality of Neufchatel and de Valangin, the country of Cleves, and Wesel, Napoleon reserved in favour of Marshal Berthier, or Prince Murat.

Other occupations of territory had been authorised by the treaty of Presburg. Generals Mollitor and Mathieu Dumas, at the head of a French corps, had begun to take possession of Dalmatia, on the 1st of February; and, on the same day, the Emperor of Austria sent troops to occupy the bishopric of Wurtzburg, which had fallen to his brother, as an indemnity for the electorate of Salzburg. On the 11th, a French commissary delivered up the Tyrol to the delegates sent thither by the King of Bavaria; on the 16th, a proclamation announced the taking possession of Istria by the Emperor of France; and, on the 14th of March, the French troops occupied the city and territory of Nuremberg, in behalf of the King of Bavaria, to whom they were consigned. The latter, by a patent, dated the 15th of March, notified the cession of the Duchy of Berg to France; and Prince Murat announced, in his turn, the cession of Cleves and Berg, made to him by Napoleon. In fine, the Kings of Wirtemberg, Bavaria, and the Grand Duke Elector of Baden, continued in possession of their respective estates in Swabia, Franconia, and the Brisgau, under the auspices of France, she being several times constrained to send commissaries to adjust the differences that arose amongst those princes, about fixing their respective boundaries.

While such arrangements were making on the Continent, the King of Great Britain called the illustrious Mr. Fox to the helm of public affairs, as the only person capable of supporting the tottering edifice of administration, shaken by the death of Pitt. The English were then in want of an able statesman to preserve some political influence in Europe, which they had never before been in such danger of losing. Austria had sunk under the pres-

sure of her defeats; the Russians humbled, had retired into their frozen regions, and did not appear ready to advance a second time, in support of the projects of the cabinet of St. James; the Grand Seignior, at Constantinople, by a public declaration, had recognised Napoleon as Emperor of France; and the kingdom of Naples, so important to the English, on account of its harbours, seemed lost to them for ever.

While Napoleon was thus strengthening his own dynasty, and the allies of France, by political marriages and exchanges of territory, he was at the same time preparing the friendly powers for a state of vassalage, rendering them tributaries either in men or money. He restored the edifices of the Pantheon, in Paris, to the Catholic worship, and thus realised the destination intended it by the constituent assembly, viz. that of a place of sepulture for the grand dignitaries and great officers of the crown, senators, officers of the legion of honour, and citizens who had rendered eminent services to the country, or distinguished themselves in arms, administration, or literature.

The church of St. Denis, devastated by the fury of the revolutionists, was equally appropriated as a place of sepulture for the Emperors; and a chapter formed by ten bishops, not less than sixty years of age, was appointed to perform divine service in that celebrated church; three expiatory chapels were destined to contain, upon marble tables, the names of the kings of the three races, whose mausoleums had been profaned, and destroyed in 1793.—Never was flattery carried to a higher pitch than at this epoch of the life of Napoleon; when the pages of the *Moniteur* were filled with orations, and adulatory expressions used by the authorities, civil, judiciary, and religious, in their panegyries upon the dissolver of the coalition, the saviour of France—Napoleon the Great!

The Legislative Corps had been summoned for the month of March, and the Emperor opened the sittings in person, on the 2d, when the most imposing pomp presided

at the ceremony; as the Emperor was attended by all the grand dignitaries, and principal personages of the state. The Empress Josephine was placed opposite his throne, with the Prince Royal of Bavaria, the prince arch-chancellor of the Germanic empire. There is so much of historical fact in the discourse delivered on that occasion, we have judged it proper to insert the same at length.

"Messieurs, Deputies, Tribunes, and Members of my Council of State, since your last meeting, the greatest part of Europe entered into a coalition with England, when my armies have never ceased to conquer, but on my ordering them to cease hostilities. I have avenged the wrongs of weak states, oppressed by the powerful. My allies have increased in strength and respectability; my enemies have been humbled and confounded; the King of Naples has lost his crown, without hope of recovery; and nearly the whole of the peninsula of Italy now forms part of the great empire. As *supreme Chief*, I have guaranteed those sovereigns and constitutions that govern the different parts of this kingdom. Russia owes the return of the wreck of its army, solely to the capitulation which I granted. Enabled to overturn the imperial throne of Austria, I established it. The conduct of the cabinet of Vienna will be such, that posterity can never have to reproach me with *any want of foresight*. I reposed unlimited confidence in the protestations that were made to me by its sovereign; but the high destinies of my crown do not depend upon the sentiments or inclinations of foreign courts. My people will always maintain my throne against the attempts of hatred and jealousy; no sacrifice will be too painful to secure the first interests of the country. Brought up in camps, and in the field, always triumphant, I ought to confess that, latterly, my soldiers have surpassed my expectations; and it is pleasant for me also to declare, that my people have done theirs. At the extremity of Moravia, I never ceased for a moment to prove the effects of their love and enthusiasm. Frenchmen, I have not been deceived in my hopes. I glory more

in your affection than in the extent and riches of our territory. Magistrates, priests, citizens, all have shewn themselves worthy the high destinies of our beautiful France, which, for two centuries past, has been the object of the combinations and jealousies of her neighbours.

"My minister of the interior will inform you of the events that have taken place in the course of the year. My Council of State will present to you the *projets* of the law to ameliorate the different branches of the administration; from the ministers of finance, and of the public treasury, you will receive the accounts they have laid before me; and witness the prosperous state of our finances. Since my return, I have been incessantly engaged in confiding to the administration that spring and activity which communicate life to the extremities of this vast empire. My people will not have to sustain any fresh burthens; but new developments will be proposed in the system of finances, the basis of which were laid down last year. I intend to diminish the direct taxes that press immediately on the soil, by replacing part of them from the indirect receipts. Tempests have occasioned the loss of some ships of war, after an engagement, which was imprudently undertaken, (*viz.* the battle of Trafalgar). I cannot sufficiently praise the greatness of mind, and the attachment which the King of Spain displayed under those circumstances. I desire peace with England, which, on my part, I will never retard for a moment. I shall always be ready to conclude a peace, taking for its bases the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens. Gentlemen, deputies of the Legislative Corps, the attachment you have shewn, the manner in which you seconded me in the last sitting, leaves me no doubt of your assistance. Nothing shall be proposed that will not be necessary to guarantee the glory and safety of my people."

On the evening of the opening of the Legislative Corps, the Hereditary Prince of Baden arrived at Paris; and, two days after, the Senate was informed, by a message, of the marriage of that prince with a niece of the Empress Jose-

phine, Mademoiselle Stephanie Beauharnois, whom Napoleon had adopted some time before.*

That interesting female had lost her mother in childhood. She was left under the care of an English lady in France, her mother's intimate friend, very rich, and without children, who entrusted the superintendance of the education of her *protegée* to some old nuns, at a considerable distance from Paris.

Napoleon, during his Consulship, one day hearing Josephine mention the circumstance, while alluding to her young relation, Stephanie, exclaimed, "How can you suffer one of your name to be supported by a foreigner—an Englishwoman, who must at this moment be regarded as our enemy? Are you not afraid that your memory will one day suffer by this?"—A courier was immediately despatched to conduct the young lady to the Tuileries; but the nuns refused to resign her. Napoleon, however, instituted the necessary legal forms; and a second courier was speedily forwarded to the prefect of the district, with orders instantly to seize the person of the young lady, in the name of the law.

Owing to the circumstances of the times, such was the influence of certain systems of education, and the opinions they inspired, that Stephanie's removal proved to herself a source of very deep regret; and she beheld, not without terror, him, who declared himself her relative, and was about to become her benefactor. She was placed in the establish-

* In reference to the Empress Josephine, we extract the following from a rare work, entitled *Memoirs et Anecdotes, sur la Cour de Napoleon*, &c.—"Josephine was cherished in public, but less respected in her domestic situation. Her uniform endeavour consisted in producing effect. She was perfect mistress of the French character, and thence derived all the benefit possible. No individual ever possessed so great an ascendancy over the mind of Napoleon, of which she continued to preserve a portion even after the divorce. Her benevolence was the universal theme of conversation; her lady of honour, Madame de la Rochefoucault, being uniformly ordered to distribute the gifts of her mistress. She commissioned two gentlemen of known respectability and honour to search out indigent persons, who, from a feeling of shame, concealed their distresses; as well as to verify the truth of statements contained in petitions, which caused her name to be reverenced from one extremity of the empire to the other."

ment of Madame Campan, at St. Germain; masters of every description were appointed to superintend her education; and, on her introduction to the world, her beauty, wit, accomplishments, and virtues, rendered her the object of universal admiration.

Though the Emperor adopted her as his daughter, and gave her in marriage to the Hereditary Prince of Baden, that union was, for several years, far from being happy. In course of time, however, the causes of difference gradually vanished; the prince and princess became attached to each other, and, from that moment, had only to regret the happiness of which they had deprived themselves during the early years of their marriage.

At the conferences at Erfurt, the Princess of Baden received the most marked attentions from her brother-in-law, the Emperor Alexander. During the disasters of the French in 1813, persons who were at the head of political affairs, dreading the result of an interview between Alexander and the Princess of Baden at Manheim, succeeded in depriving the latter of the regard of her august relative, by circulating reports prejudicial to her character. Thus, when Alexander arrived at Manheim, on his triumphal march to Paris, he by no means treated Princess Stephanie with due respect, his conduct being calculated to wound her feelings, though it could not humble her pride. On that occasion, the line pursued by the Prince of Baden reflected true glory on his character. The most august personages surrounded, and urged him to repudiate the wife whom he had received from the hands of Napoleon. But the prince, with true nobleness of sentiment, rejected the idea, observing, that he could never commit an act of baseness, which would be as repugnant to his affections as to his honour. That generous man afterwards fell a victim to a tedious and painful illness, during which, the princess attended throughout the whole of his sufferings, performing, with her own hands, all the minute services his situa-

tion required; and her devoted attachment gained her the admiration of all her relatives and friends.

Princess Stephanie of Baden shed a lustre over her exalted situation. She conferred honour on her character as a wife and daughter; and at all times professed the highest veneration for him, who, when in the enjoyment of boundless power, had benevolently adopted her as his child.

The *Council of State* having been frequently mentioned, some account of its regulations and duties may illustrate the character of its founder:—

The Council of State, as a whole, constituted Napoleon's real council and mind in deliberation; as the ministers were his mind in execution. At this Council were prepared the imperial laws presented to the Legislative Body, a circumstance which rendered it altogether one of the elements of the legislative power. In the Council, the Emperor's decrees and rules of public administration were drawn up; and the plans of his ministers examined, discussed, and corrected.

The Council received appeals, finally pronounced on all administrative judgments; and incidentally on those of all other tribunals, even of the Court of Cassation. There, complaints against the ministers were examined, as well as appeals to the Emperor; wherefore the Council of State, at which the Emperor uniformly presided, being frequently in direct opposition to the ministers, or occupied in reforming their acts and errors, naturally became the point of refuge for persons or interests aggrieved by any authority whatsoever. All who were ever present at the meetings of the Council, must have observed with what zeal the cause of the citizens was there defended. A committee of that Council received all the petitions of the empire, and laid before the sovereign those deserving attention.

With the exception of lawyers, and persons employed in the administration, it is surprising how far the rest of society was ignorant of the French political legislation. No one had a correct idea of the Council of State, of the

Legislative Body, or of the Senate. It was received, for example, as an established fact, that the Legislative Body, like an assembly of mutes, passively adopted, without the least opposition, all the laws presented to it; that which belonged to the nature and excellence of the institution, was attributed to its complaisance and servility.

The laws prepared in the Council were presented, by commissaries chosen from that body, to a committee of the legislative corps appointed to receive them: they were there amicably discussed, and often quietly referred back to the Council, to receive some modifications. When the two deputations could not come to an understanding, they proceeded to hold regular conferences, under the presidency of the arch-chancellor or the arch-treasurer; so that, before those laws reached the Legislative Body, they had already received the assent of the two opposite parties. If any difference existed, it was discussed by the two committees, in the presence of the whole Legislative Body, performing the functions of a jury; which, as soon as its members had become sufficiently acquainted with the facts, pronounced its decision by a secret scrutiny. Thus every individual had an opportunity of freely giving his opinion, as it was impossible to know whether he had put in a red or a white ball. "No plan," said the Emperor, "could have been better calculated to correct our national effervescence, and our inexperience in matters of political liberty."

So little was the nature of this Council understood by the people in general, that it was believed no one dared utter a word in that assembly, in opposition to the Emperor's opinion. Las Cases, therefore, very much surprised many persons, when he related the fact, that, one day, during a very animated debate, the Emperor, having been interrupted three times in giving his opinion, turned towards the individual who had rather rudely cut him short, and said, in a sharp tone, "I have not yet done; I beg you will allow me to continue; I believe every one here has a right to deliver his opinion." The smartness of that reply, not-

withstanding the solemnity of the occasion, excited a general laugh, in which the Emperor himself joined.

Every member was at liberty to speak: if several rose at the same time, the order of precedence was regulated by the Emperor. The members spoke from their places, sitting. No written speeches were allowed to be read; it was requisite that they should be made extemporaneously. When the Emperor thought the question, in which he usually took no inconsiderable share himself, sufficiently discussed, he entered into a summary of the arguments, which was always luminous, and frequently marked with novelty and point, when, being brought to a conclusion, it was put to the vote.

The greatest freedom prevailed in those debates, so that the animation of the speakers, increasing by degrees, became sometimes excessive; and the discussion was often protracted beyond measure, particularly when the Emperor, occupied probably with a different subject, seemed, either from distraction or some other cause, to be altogether ignorant of what was going forward. He then commonly cast an irresolute eye over the hall, cut pencils, pricked the tapestry of his table, or the arm of his chair, with the point of his pen-knife, or employed his pencil or pen in scrawling whimsical marks or sketches, which, after he was gone, excited the ardent attention of the young members, who made a scramble for them. It was also curious to observe, when he happened to have traced the name of some country or capital, the hyperbolical inferences sought to be extracted from the same. Sometimes, when the Emperor entered the Council after dinner, after having undergone great fatigue during the morning, he would fold his arms upon the table, lay down his head, and fall asleep. The arch-chancellor, in such cases, proceeded with the deliberations, which were continued without interruption; and the Emperor, on awakening, immediately caught up the thread of the discussion, though the previous subject might have been ended and another introduced. Napoleon often

asked for a glass of water and sugar; and a table in the adjoining room was always laid out with refreshments for his use, without any precautions being adopted as to the individuals who were permitted to approach it.

The Emperor was in the habit of taking snuff, chiefly during intervals of abstraction. Those chamberlains who proved most expert and assiduous in the discharge of their duties, would frequently endeavour, unobserved by the Emperor, to take away his empty snuff-box, and substitute a full one in its stead. Those individuals were seldom changed, either in consequence of intriguing to retain their places, or because it was naturally most agreeable to the Emperor to continue them in posts, with the duties of which they were acquainted; it being the business of the Grand Marshal (Duroc) to make all such arrangements. One of the chamberlains having observed that the Emperor, on going to the theatre, frequently forgot his opera-glass, of which he made very great use, got one made exactly like it, so that the first time he saw the Emperor without his *lorgnette*, he presented the same to him, and the difference was not observed. On his return from the theatre, Napoleon was not a little surprised to find he had got two glasses exactly alike; and, on the following day, inquired how the new opera-glass had made its appearance, when the chamberlain replied, that it was one he kept in reserve, in case it might be wanted. The Emperor always showed himself very sensible of those attentions, innocent in themselves, and calculated to make an impression on the feelings, when dictated only by love and respect, as then the individual was not acting the part of a slavish courtier, but an affectionate and devoted servant.

When Napoleon quitted Paris for St. Cloud, Malmaison, or any other of his country residences, he usually invited the individuals of his household to his private evening parties; whereby was formed a pleasant family circle, admittance to which was held to be a very high honour. In the country, his chamberlains were invited to dine at his

table; and one day, while dining at Trianon, being troubled with a severe cold in his head, and finding himself in want of a handkerchief, the servants immediately ran to procure one; but, in the meanwhile, the chamberlain on duty, who was a relation of Maria Louisa, drew a clean one unfolded from his pocket, and wished to take the other from the Emperor. "I thank you," said Napoleon; "but I will never have it said that I allowed M. —— to touch a handkerchief which I had used," and he instantly threw it on the ground. Such was the man who, in certain circles, was described as being coarse and brutal, ill-treating all his household, and even behaving rudely to the ladies of the palace. The Emperor, on the contrary, was a scrupulous observer of decorum, very sensible to all the little attentions he received, and though it was a sort of system to suffer no manifestation of gratitude to escape him, yet the expression of his eye, or the tone of his voice, sufficiently denoted what he really felt. Unlike those whose lips overflow with the expression of sentiments which their hearts never feel, Napoleon seemed to make it a rule to repress, or disguise, the kind emotions by which he was frequently inspired.

But to return to the Council: all the reports, plans of resolutions, and decrees there discussed, were printed, and distributed to the members at their own houses. There was one subject, for example, relating to the university, which was twenty times drawn up. Others lingered for a length of time in the portfolios, or were at length totally relinquished, without any cause whatsoever being assigned.

One day, the counsellor of state, General Gassendi, taking part in a debate of the moment, dwelt for a length of time upon the doctrines of economists. The Emperor, who was much attached to his old artillery comrade, stopped him, saying, "My dear general, where did you gain all this knowledge? Where did you imbibe those principles?" Gassendi, who spoke very seldom in the Council, after defending himself, in the best way he could, finding he was driven to his last intrenchments, replied, that he had, after

all, borrowed his opinions from Napoleon himself. "How!" exclaimed the Emperor with warmth. "What do you say? Is it possible? From me, who have always thought, that if there existed a monarchy of granite, the chimeras of political economists would reduce it to powder!" And, after some other remarks, partly ironical and partly serious, he concluded, "Go, general! you must have fallen asleep in your office, and have dreamed all this." Gassendi, who was rather irascible, replied: "Oh, as to falling asleep in our offices, Sire, I defy any one to do that with you; you plague us too much for that." All the Council burst into a fit of laughter, when the Emperor laughed louder than the rest.

A scene of a very different nature occurred on another occasion. A religious party was fomenting civil discord in the state, by secretly circulating bulls and letters from the Pope. They were shown to M. Portalis, a counsellor of state, appointed to superintend religious worship, and who, if he did not himself circulate them, at least neither prevented or denounced their circulation. This was discovered, and the Emperor suddenly challenged him with the fact in open council. "What could have been your motive, Sir?" said he. "Were you influenced by your religious principles? If so, why are you here? I use no control over the conscience of any man. Did I force you to become my counsellor of state? On the contrary, you solicited the post as a high favour. You are the youngest member of the Council, and perhaps the only one who has not some personal claim to that honour: you had nothing to recommend you but the inheritance of your father's services. You took a personal oath to me: how could your religious feelings permit you openly to violate that oath, as you have just now done? Speak, however; you are here in confidence; your colleagues shall be your judges. Your crime is a great one, Sir. A conspiracy for the commission of a violent act, is stopped as soon as we seize the arm that holds the poniard. But a conspiracy to influence the public mind,

has no end: it is like a train of gunpowder. Perhaps, at this very moment, whole towns are thrown into commotion through your fault." The counsellor, quite confused, said nothing in reply: the first appeal was sufficient to establish the fact. The members of the Council, to the majority of whom this event was quite unexpected, were struck with astonishment, and observed profound silence. "Why," continued the Emperor, "did you not, according to the obligation imposed by your oath, discover to me the criminal and his plots? Am I not at all times accessible to every one of you?" "Sire," said the counsellor, at length venturing to reply, "he was my cousin."—"Your crime is then the greater, Sir," replied the Emperor, sharply; "your kinsman could only have been placed in office at your solicitation: from that moment the responsibility devolved on you. When I look upon a man as entirely devoted to me, as your situation ought to render you, all who are connected with him, and all for whom he becomes responsible, from that time require no watching. These are my maxims." The accused member still remained silent, and the Emperor continued, "The duties which a counsellor of state owes to me, are immense. You, Sir, have violated those duties, and you hold the office no longer. Be gone: let me never see you here again!"

The disgraced counsellor, as he was withdrawing, passed very near the Emperor: the latter looked at him, and said, "I am sincerely grieved at this, Sir, for the services of your father are still fresh in my memory." When he was gone, the Emperor added, "I hope such a scene as this may never be renewed; it has done me too much harm. I am not distrustful, but may become so! I have allowed myself to be surrounded by every party; I have placed near my person even emigrants and soldiers of the army of Condé; and though it was wished to induce them to assassinate me, yet, to do them justice, they have continued faithful. Since I have held the reins of government, this is the first individual employed about me, by whom I

have been betrayed;" then turning towards M. Locré, who took notes of the debates of the Council of State, he said, "Write down *betrayed*—do you hear?"

The existence of state-prisons under Napoleon has been strongly objected to, especially by the English; but those he contended were a benefit. He justly observed, that, considering the crisis from which France had emerged, the factions that divided her, and the plots that had been laid, imprisonment became indispensable. To become a prisoner of state, was the means of preserving numbers from the scaffold. No person, according to Napoleon's law, could be thus detained without the decision of his Privy Council, which consisted of sixteen persons. None could be imprisoned more than a year, without a fresh decision of that Council; and four votes out of sixteen procured any person's release.

The fact is, that, at the period of Napoleon's downfall, the state prisons scarcely contained *two hundred and fifty* individuals; and, when he became Consul, he found *nine thousand* persons confined. Almost every one of them deserved death, and would have been subjected to the same by a regular process of law; it therefore followed, that imprisonment, on his part, was a benefit. What might seem a virtuous action in the eye of the King of France, was undoubtedly a crime under Bonaparte, who commuted the punishment of death for simple detention. He accordingly thought, that, during this time, the French were the freest people in all Europe, without even excepting the English; as any individual, among the latter, might be sent to prison during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, at the mere will of ministers, who could not be called upon to justify their motives, or explain their conduct.

On the 5th of March, the minister of the interior attended the Legislative Body, to acquaint it with the situation of the empire. After saying a few words upon the results of the First Consul's administration, he entered further into a detail of the events of the last year. He dwelt

upon the public works that had been renewed in the department de l'Est; the restoration of the municipal buildings which had been destroyed at Lyons, during the anarchy of the Revolution; the dikes formed near the Rhone, to restrain the inundations of that river; decrees issued in favour of commerce; schools for the instruction of youth in drawing, with a view to the encouragement of manufactures; canals intended to communicate with the Seine, the Rhine, and the ocean, in the same manner as the Rhone was already united with the Mediterranean; new routes traversing Savoy, in spite of innumerable obstacles; the public establishments in Piedmont, then an integral part of the French empire, especially at Casal, Turin, and Alexandria; the latter place intended to become one of the principal bulwarks of the empire: the barbets, who had ravaged those countries during two centuries, he said, had been chased, dispersed, or exterminated; Genoa, by its reunion with France, offered to Piedmont its natural opening to the sea; in fine, a code of laws, and a better system of administration, had been given to the states of Parma and Plaisance, both united to France.

Speaking of the war between France and Austria, M. de Champagny painted Napoleon in the midst of his labours, dangers, military combinations, and all those fatigues which he shared with the soldiers, at the same time holding the thread of government in his hand, at a distance of three hundred leagues from Paris; entering into the most minute details, seeing every thing with his own eyes, knowing all events without any intermediate agency; and sending from Ulm, Munich, Vienna, and his bivouac, as well as from the chateau of Austerlitz, those numerous decrees recorded in the bulletin of the laws, affording the most undeniable proofs of his prodigious activity, and administrative labours.

The Emperor's victories, moderation, new alliances, and their mutual advantages, were rapidly touched upon by the minister, who, on returning to the affairs of the in-

terior, enumerated the efforts made to increase the ameliorations introduced into the administration of justice, and the measures adopted to carry the police to the highest degree of perfection. He then mentioned the sums devoted to those objects the most material for public utility; and successively called the attention of his auditors to the fine roads undertaken over the Simplon, Mount Cenes, and from Mount Genevre across the Maurienne, and the rocks between Genoa and Toulon. He also enumerated the many routes completed, or commenced, in different parts of the empire; the immense labours undertaken for improving the ancient highways; of the bridges built or rebuilt over the Rhine, the Meuse, Loire, Cher, Loing, Rhone, Saone, Durance, and the Isere; the towing-paths along the sides of many rivers; the Po made navigable; of the six great canals, and others less important, commenced, traced, or projected, all intended to unite the two seas by means of internal navigation, or to connect the rivers of France so as to open new channels for commerce; of the establishment of swing, or chain bridges throughout the empire; of three lines of telegraphs, and a better organisation of bridges and causeways. The minister equally pointed out the two new cities built in the room of those destroyed during the civil wars in the departments of Morbihan and La Vendée, besides basins which had been dug in thirty-five ports, sluices, canals, quays, jetties, and moles established or repaired, ports enlarged, &c. &c.

M. de Champagny afterwards referred to the capital, which, he said, had received more embellishments in the course of one year during the war, than formerly in the space of half a century of peace. The governors of the hospitals, the *Mont de Piété*, and other charitable foundations, had, under the Emperor's inspection, been charged with a responsibility for the application of their funds; the poor protected from usury; while the bank of France had undergone a new organisation. Those improvements alone were sufficient to expose the injustice of some of Napo-

leon's enemies, who did not blush to compare him to the chief of the Huns, the barbarous Attila!

The passage made by Napoleon over the Simplon has been barely mentioned; but it is quite impossible for language to convey any adequate idea of that stupendous undertaking. To be described, it must be seen. It combines, throughout, the awful and the sublime, with the picturesque and the beautiful. There is not, perhaps, any spot in the world, where the astonished traveller will perceive, in such *rapid succession*, the wildest and rudest scenery intermingled with smiling valleys and cultivated fields. That astonishing monument of human labour and ingenuity, extending from Geneva to Milan, was constructed by order of Bonaparte, under the direction of M. Ceard, on whom it has conferred immortal honour.

In the course of that grand route, more than forty bridges, of various forms, are thrown from one wild chasm to another; numerous galleries, or subterranean passages, not only cut through the solid rock, but the *glaciers* also, those "thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;"—and if to those we add, the aqueducts that carry off the water; the grand canal; the walls supporting and flanking the whole of the route, together with the innumerable works of art which must necessarily enter into, and form a part of that more than Herculean labour, we are at a loss which most to admire, the genius that contrived, or the skill which executed so stupendous a work. More than thirty thousand men were constantly employed in the undertaking, which was finished in 1805, after three years incessant labour. The road is now wide enough to admit three carriages abreast; but, until the year 1801, it was impassable.

On the 30th of March, Prince Joseph had been proclaimed King of Naples and Sicily; the principality of Guastalla was transferred to Princess Pauline, sister to Napoleon, under the title of Duchess of Guastalla; and that of Neufchatel to Marshal Berthier, by the title of Prince of Neufchatel.

On the 5th of June, the Grand Seignior, having previously acknowledged the Emperor Napoleon, Mouhib Effendi, ambassador extraordinary from the Porte, had his first audience of Napoleon, at Paris.

On the same day, his Majesty proclaimed his brother, Louis, King of Holland; and an imperial decree was passed, transferring to M. Talleyrand the principality of Benevento, under the title of Prince;* and, by another decree, Bernadotte, Marshal of the Empire, was nominated Prince of Ponte Corvo.

* The immense sums which this minister plundered, or extorted, have certainly made him one of the wealthiest, if not the richest man in Europe. His expenses have always been great, even extravagant; but much beneath half the interest arising from an enormous capital, deposited under several names, in the French as well as foreign funds.

By the different negotiations, intrigues, indemnities, loans, jobbings, treaties, armistices, conventions, &c. up to Midsummer, 1802, Talleyrand was said, since his appointment as a minister, to have *indemnified* himself with the following sums: in 1797, sixteen millions, three hundred and fifty thousand francs; in 1798, eleven millions, one hundred and fifty thousand; in 1799, eight millions, eight hundred thousand; in 1800, twenty millions, fifty thousand; in 1801, thirty-three millions, three hundred thousand; and in 1802, thirteen millions, nine hundred thousand. Thus did he extort, during a period of five years, upwards of four millions *sterling*, from princes and subjects; by taking advantage of that information which his official station procured him, to lay all people and all classes under a contribution, either directly by forced loans, or indirectly, by speculation in the public funds. This was a new system of plunder, not hitherto mentioned in history, not even in the annals which record the corruption of eastern satraps, or of Turkish viziers and pachas.

From the 22d of September, 1803, to the 22d of September, 1804, he is said to have laid out, in the purchase of estates in various parts of Europe, twenty millions, six hundred and sixty-five thousand francs; for his seraglio, establishments in town and country, &c. four millions, two hundred and ninety-three thousand, three hundred francs. His peculations, since the above period, may be easily guessed, from this specimen. Napoleon often checked, but found him unmanageable; and he is one of the party alluded to in the "Voice from St. Helena," who shared the plunder of the money which Napoleon received as a dowry with his wife, the Empress Maria Louisa.

In comparison with former French ministers, Talleyrand possessed the financial abilities of a Sully, the capacity and duplicity of a Richelieu, the cunning and cupidity of a Mazarin, the commercial knowledge of a Colbert, the insensibility and cruelty of a Louvois, the profligacy and depravity of a Dubois, the method and perspicuity of a Fleury, the penetration of a Choiseul, the suppleness of a Maurepas, and the activity of a Vergennes. Though, from haughtiness, he affected to depend upon his secretaries and inferiors for transacting the chief business of his office, nothing escaped his attention; so that, with great facility, he decided in a few hours what had puzzled the comprehensions of others for a week.

One of the last acts of the Senate, this year, was the granting a levy of eighty thousand men, out of the conscription for 1807: thus lightly were two conscriptions levied in the same year, whereby a dangerous precedent was established for similar anticipations, which afterwards proved so disastrous to the French people. The prospect at that period, however, was encouraging and flattering to French valour, which, by the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz, had excited the admiration of Europe, and left France without a rival on the Continent.

CHAP. XVIII.

Entrance of the French Army into Naples—Siege of Gaeta—Causes of the Disaffection of the Neapolitans towards the French—Landing of the British Troops, under General Stuart, in Calabria—Affair near St. Euphemia, called the Battle of Maida—Repulse of the French—Insurgents collected—March of the English towards Maida—Humanity of General Stuart—Cruelty of the Neapolitans at Strongoli and Ciro—Gernalis, a Chief of the Banditti—Swiss Soldiers, in French pay, mistaken for English—Attack upon Lagro Negro—Departure of General Stuart and Sir Sidney Smith—Destruction of the Banditti, called the Royal Masses—Capture and Death of Fra Diavolo (Brother Devil)—Causes of the War between France and Prussia—The Kings of Sweden and Prussia—Hostile disposition of Russia towards Napoleon—Louis Bonaparte appointed King of Holland—Confederation of the Rhine—Napoleon leaves Paris to head his Army—The Prussian Ultimatum—Proclamation to his Soldiers—The Prussians out-manœuvred—Affair near Saalfeld—Death of Prince Louis—Battle of Jena—Blameable Conduct of Bernadotte—The nick-named Emperor—Napoleon at Weimar—Slaughter of the Prussians near Halle—The French enter Berlin—Proclamation—Blucher made prisoner, &c. &c.

Between the 12th and 15th of February, 1806, the French army made its entrance into the kingdom of Naples. The Russians, who had marched to the assistance of the Queen, were under General Lascy; when, to aggravate the violation of the treaty concluded with Napoleon only two months before, the Court of the Two Sicilies confided the city of Naples to a garrison of eighteen hundred English. Upon this, the French ambassador took down the

arms of France from the gates of his palace, and, demanding his passports, retired to Rome. But the Russians did not await the attack of the French, as an order arrived from the Emperor Alexander, directing them to re-embark without delay, and remain in the Ionian Islands till further orders.

Gaeta, added to its natural strength, situated upon a rock, and a peninsula near the sea, was commanded by the Prince of Hesse Philipstadt, an old soldier, a German by birth, and strongly attached to the Bourbons. The siege was consequently protracted a considerable time; but the French general granted the commandant, who had been badly wounded, and the garrison, very honorable terms, and it marched out of the place, July 17th. During that siege, King Joseph put a question to the grenadiers in the trenches, to know which they liked best—being there, or at the camp? "Here," said they, "if the assault be given without delay; but in the open field, if we could see our enemy." The surrender of Gaeta set at liberty sixteen thousand of the besieging army.

The zeal, real or pretended, with which the Neapolitans received the new king imposed upon them by Napoleon, soon began to cool in a very sensible degree. The principal places at court were bestowed upon Frenchmen; the imposts were not lowered; the luxury of the new court, the affluence of Naples, and a crowd of French and Italians, who proceeded thither to better their fortunes, were the causes of that discontent which threatened to become general. Three months had scarcely elapsed since the enthronement of King Joseph, ere the fermentation became very conspicuous in some of the provinces. Arbitrary contributions, imposed by the agents of government, and even some of the French generals, had quite changed the pacific disposition of the inhabitants. The Calabrians, who, under the ancient dynasty, had been accustomed to a kind of independence, bore the French yoke with the greatest degree of impatience, and were evidently preparing for an insurrection. Accordingly, in a council held in Palermo, at

which the English commandants by sea and land were present, a descent on Calabria was resolved upon.

On the 1st of July, 1806, a convoy, conveying troops, was observed sailing out of the port of Messina, under the protection of several English ships of war. That fleet made sail towards Stromboli, and afterwards disembarked the troops opposite St. Euphemia. It conveyed six thousand British, and three thousand Neapolitan troops of the line, who were to be joined by four thousand insurgents, a force which had been in readiness some time; that army being under the command of the English General Stuart. General Reynier, left in Calabria by King Joseph to govern that province, hastened, on the first arrival of the intelligence, to collect all the disposable troops that could be spared. The division under his orders was composed of the first and twenty-third regiments of light infantry, the forty-second of the line, two battalions of the first Swiss regiment, the ninth of the horse chasseurs, and a battery of horse artillery. Those troops were in cantonments at a considerable distance from each other, and the English general hoped to profit from the delay the collecting them would occasion, by advancing up the country, and forming a junction with the bands of insurgents then organising. On the 3d of July, the French advanced guard was in presence of the Anglo-Neapolitan army, in bivouac at the foot of the hill upon which St. Euphemia is built; its left supported by the little town, and its right by the sea. General Sir James Stuart had chosen that as the most favourable position for preserving his troops from the pestilential air which infected the marshes of St. Euphemia at the then season of the year. The French division passed the night of the 3d in the woods of Fundaco del Fico.

General Stuart, on quitting his position on the 4th, formed the order of battle in a parallel line with the shore, his right being supported by the mouth of the river l'Amato. General Reynier then gave orders to General Compere, who commanded the advanced guard, to cross the Amato,

under the protection of some companies of voltigeurs, who cleared the little wood and bushes upon the right bank; but the numerous tirailleurs, whom the enemy sent towards that point, repulsed the French voltigeurs, before General Compere could form his brigade. The whole of the English line then moving forward, engaged in a cannonade and a warm discharge of musketry, which did considerable execution among the French, still suffering from the disorder occasioned by a precipitate formation; having, in a few minutes, from six to seven hundred men killed and wounded. General Compere, rallying his troops, had an arm broken by a cannon ball; and, most unfortunately, the greatest part of the division was still at too great a distance to remedy the first check, so that the retrograde movement of the advanced guard threw the rest of the troops passing the Amato into confusion. The twenty-third regiment of light infantry alone had the firmness to arrest the progress of the enemy, and cover the retreat of the division to Catanzaro, through the valley of the Amato. The brave conduct of Colonel Abbé, who commanded the twenty-third regiment, procured him the rank of a general of brigade; which affair the English have called the battle of Maida.

The roaring of the cannon on the plain of St. Euphemia had drawn together numerous detachments of armed peasants, who were followed by the sounding of the tocsin in all the surrounding villages, while the white flag being hoisted upon the steeples, the insurrection became general. Mechanics quitted their work-shops; pastors abandoned their flocks to increase the organised bands, and collected in all parts to fall upon the isolated French; and, as this enraged populace was soon in want of victims, they pillaged the houses of the rich inhabitants, whom they accused of being partisans of the French, seldom sparing women or children. The small French posts, established to keep open a correspondence, were carried off, though some few escaped the general massacre, almost by a miracle. The

inhabitants of Cassano having basely assassinated some French soldiers left in the hospital, many of their houses, by way of retaliation, were afterwards pillaged and burnt by General Verdier's division.

In the meanwhile, General Reynier effected his retreat in good order to Catanzaro, taking with him the greater part of the wounded in the affair upon the borders of the Amato: his despatches, however, sent from that place to King Joseph, were fortunate enough to arrive.

The English under General Stuart, being arrested in their progress by the intrepidity of the twenty-third, under Colonel Abbé, did not persist in following the French in their retreat, either because he did not choose to venture into the interior, or thought his victory would be improved by the exasperation of the Calabrian insurgents. But the French, so far from being broken, had still sufficient force to cope with the latter, though twelve thousand had, for some time, blocked General Reynier in Catanzaro.

The English general, after the battle of the 4th, availed himself of remaining in the environs of St. Euphemia, in order to send back part of his artillery to Sicily, as being of little use in a mountainous warfare; when, after embarking his wounded and prisoners, he began his march to Maida on the 8th of July. Being then informed of the excesses in which the inhabitants had indulged against the French who had fallen into their hands, he was much displeased, and published a proclamation ordering those massacres to cease, and promising ten ducats as a reward for each French private, and fifteen for every officer, brought safe and sound to his head-quarters. That measure, though late in its adoption, saved the lives of many individuals of the French army.

The forts of Scylla and Reggio were soon after surrendered to the English, and the troops sent to France on parole. Strongoli having refused to furnish General Reynier with provisions, was carried by assault, pillaged, and

burnt in a few hours. Previous to Reynier's arrival, the inhabitants had surprised seventeen French soldiers, whom they threw into an infected dungeon, where they were nearly famished. However, their number was thus cruelly lessened every day: one of whom was taken out, and literally cut in pieces before his comrades. On the place being carried, the French liberated ten of those victims, whom their enemies had not time to massacre.

Seeing this vengeance inflicted on Strongoli, the little town of Ciro hastened to offer the French division whatsoever was necessary; that act of prudence, however, was considered as such a crime by the surrounding villages, that no sooner had the French departed, than their arms were turned against Ciro, and the richest of the inhabitants plundered without mercy. In fact, the wealthy natives at other places were not only pillaged, but massacred and imprisoned, and thus forced, by the atrocious persecution, to throw themselves into the arms of the French for protection; when to those unfortunate emigrants the insurgents gave the odious name of *Jacobini*. In places where the rich were sufficiently numerous to hold the rest of the population in check, they declared openly against those bands, calling themselves *the royal masses*. Many towns and villages sustained a regular siege against the banditti, among which, Ciro was particularly distinguished. Over the greater part of those hordes, it appears, there was a commander in chief, named *Gernalis*, who, for some unknown reason, was called the *English General*. He issued orders in the name of the King of England, and levied heavy contributions in money, which he sent on board the squadron on the coast, under Sir Sidney Smith. However, many French owed their lives to Gernalis, whose manners bespoke a man of good education, as he spoke Italian, French, English, and German, with fluency. The British found him extremely useful in levying contributions.

General Reynier having arrived at Rossano, the inha-

bitants offered him a considerable sum, if he would leave them a garrison of three hundred men, with whom they would undertake to defend themselves; this he declined, and even advised them, on his departure, to hoist the white flag. When the same division presented itself before Corgliano, the municipality, encouraged by the banditti, dared to write under the requisition for provisions sent into the town, "Come and take them." Out of a French column ordered to approach that place, twenty men were killed by the fire from an ambuscade. Reynier then ordered his troops to fall back, which induced the banditti to follow, who spread themselves over the plain, uttering the most horrible cries. The chasseurs, however, waiting a favourable moment for charging the rabble, fell upon them, and made a great carnage; while the infantry entered the town at the charge step, and carried all before them. General Reynier's express command could not prevent some houses from being burnt; and the soldiers made an immense booty, finding, in one house alone, eighty thousand ducats. The inhabitants being thus taken by surprise, had no time to conceal their most valuable property. Among the troops under General Reynier were two Swiss battalions, which, from their red uniforms, the insurgents understood to be English. After Reynier had arrived at Cassano, where he had formed an intrenched camp, those Swiss were one night sent out, and ordered to make a considerable *detour*, for the purpose of deceiving the insurgents. Arriving before a village about day-break, a body of the former, observing them proceed without making any shew of hostility, and deceived by their red uniforms, made no doubt that they were English, who had disembarked during the night, and approaching with shouts of joy, were received by a dreadful fire of musketry, and immediately charged with the bayonet, whereby they lost nearly one thousand men; and the Swiss returned to the French camp with two white flags, and loaded with the spoils of the enemy.

Notwithstanding those successes, frequently attended with dreadful reprisals, the defeat of the insurgents seemed only to call more combatants; and, in addition to those, sickness had made such ravages, that, before the end of the summer, the French about Cozenza had lost nearly two thousand men, and among them, General Vintimille, and the colonel of the 110th regiment. By those means the army was much discouraged; in fact, every province had its chief of banditti, and no roads were safe without numerous detachments, not even that from Monteleone to Naples. They also attacked Lago Negro, which, as the *depôt* of the munitions of the army, had been fortified by the French; but that rash attempt cost them a defeat, and between five and six hundred men.

During this time, the English, thinking the French sufficiently engaged with the insurgents, and General Stuart, indignant at being employed in a kind of warfare, at once ignoble and atrocious, which the British ministry had condemned him to carry on, embarked for Sicily, on the 5th of September. On the 16th of the same month, Sir Sidney Smith, mortified by the bad success against the Isle of Procida, also set sail, with the flotilla under his orders, for Messina. Before his departure, he had frequently landed galley-slaves, and other banditti, upon different points of the coast between Terracina and Gaeta, from the Isle of Capri, which had been the general rendezvous for persons employed in raising insurrections in the north of the kingdom. After the departure of the English, they were soon destroyed or dispersed. But one of the banditti, the celebrated Fra Diavolo, (brother devil), continued to ravage the environs of Arpino for some time. Driven by the French detachments, he at length sought refuge in the town of Sora, where he intrenched himself, walling up the gates, destroying all the bridges over the Garrigliano, and establishing a battery at the only place where the river was fordable. Yet, notwithstanding those

defensive measures, exhibiting more talent than could have been expected from an apostate monk, the passage of the river was forced, and Sora carried by assault. Many of the brigands were put to the sword, others saving themselves in the mountains, while the place was pillaged by the soldiery. Fra Diavolo, who disappeared in the midst of the combat, wandered about with a few followers for some time; but being at length deserted, he was delivered up to the French, by the inhabitants of a village in which he had sought refuge. At the place of execution, his cowardly behaviour formed a singular contrast with the vigour and ferocity of his character when he had appeared with arms in his hands. His letters, containing his correspondence with the English and the court of Palermo, were of a curious description.*

* While Bonaparte was preparing and publishing edicts, which were to form the minds and soften the manners of the Egyptians, Suwaroff had overrun Italy in a single campaign. The different posts, which the French had occupied in the Roman and Neapolitan states, either surrendered to a motley army of British marines and Russian and Turkish soldiers, or capitulated with the British commodore, who commanded on the coast; a Turkish fleet sailed up the Adriatic for the protection of the inhabitants, and the Pope was guarded by a regiment of British light horse. The Neapolitan court, meanwhile, which had retired to Palermo, was doing its utmost to overthrow the Parthenopeian republic.

As the people of Calabria had never been brought to admit the French into their country, it was among them that Cardinal Ruffo first showed himself. He was the agent of the court, was invested with full powers for that purpose, and availed himself of the ignorance, enthusiasm, and courage of the Calabrians. *Five persons were dressed and tutored for the purpose of representing the princes of the royal family;* and, as they were liberal in their promises of future promotion in the state and in the army, while *the cardinal, and the priests who joined him, undertook to ensure Paradise in the next world,* it was no difficult matter to collect an army.

In addition to the nobility and gentry who offered their services on this occasion, were persons of all descriptions; every assassin, who had his peace to make with heaven and the king, was a good recruit.

The royal cause then bore down every thing before it; Naples was taken, the royal government re-established, and numbers of those unfortunate persons, who had been in any way connected with the temporary republic, were made to pay the penalty of their rashness. There are circumstances in this part of the narration, not honourable to Lord Nelson. But the tragedy ended in a farce, which is worth relating in this place. On the list of the proscribed there was placed *the name of St. Januarius himself, the great Patron Saint of Naples.* He

Such was the state of the kingdom of Naples towards the end of 1806.

We have previously noticed the symptoms of hostility ready to break out between France and Prussia; when nothing but the irresolution of Frederick William retarded the event. The attractions which the possession of Hanover offered to that prince, seemed to have been the only cause of slackness in his preparations. The misunderstanding excited between the cabinets of London and Berlin, was evident in the public acts of the month of March, 1806, when the King of England declared, by his minister, that he could not acquiesce in the cession of his electoral estates: however, the Prussians still continued to occupy the fortress of Hamelin on the 26th; and, a few days after, the King of Prussia published an edict, according to which, the shutting of his ports against the English was authorised,

was accused of having been passive, at least, in the late revolution, *and of having permitted the usual liquefaction of his blood*, while the rebels were in possession of the king's palace!!! As no one appeared to make any defence for this holy personage, though a reasonable time was allowed for that purpose, he was declared convicted; his property, that is to say, the ornaments of the cathedral and of the grand altar, declared forfeited to the crown; *he was deposed from his station of Patron Saint of Naples, his blood to remain congealed for ever, no miracles of his to be admitted, and it was announced that the vows of the nation collectively were hereafter to be addressed to St. Anthony of Padua!* When St. Anthony took possession of his new dignity, around his body, and under his feet, were placed a number of those ropes, with which it was said the republicans had prepared to bind the royalists, *had it not been for his powerful intercession with heaven;* and, at every house by which the procession passed, the inhabitants were careful how they neglected to have an offering of flowers, and some piece of plate, ready to lay at the saint's feet!

There is something similar to the fate of St. Januarius, in the History of England, *viz.*—The vengeance of Henry the Eighth, exercised against the papal power, in the person of St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint, who owed his canonisation to the zealous defence he made of the Apostolic See against Henry the Second, had kindled, by his repeated miracles, such a flame of devotion at Canterbury, as to efface the adoration of the Virgin, and even the Deity. He was, however, *cited to appear in court*, as if he had been a common person, *tried and condemned as a traitor, his name struck off the list of saints, his shrine ransacked, his remains, which had been held sacred for nearly four hundred years, burnt, and his ashes scattered in the air.*—One could hardly have expected a scene so similar would have been repeated in the nineteenth century.

in the same manner as had been practised while Hanover had been occupied by the French.

The King of Sweden, immoveable in his affection for the English, and irritated by the proceedings of Frederick William, gave vent to his feelings in menaces and complaints; but did not wish to essay the chances of war with a power so formidable as Prussia: he therefore concentrated, in Pomerania, that army which he intended should take part in the operations of the coalition lately dissolved by the treaty of Presburg; and only left some detachments in Lauenberg, which country his conventions with England obliged him to defend. In short, nothing could exceed the contradictions which then signalised the policy of the King of Prussia, who, at the moment when he was openly at variance with two powers lately his allies, had proceeded in great pomp to Stettin, attended by his whole court, to review the troops who had recently evacuated Hanover, whom he loaded with testimonies of affection and esteem. At the beginning of April, the ports of Embden and East Friezland were added to those previously shut against the English; and the civil occupation of Hanover was completed at the same time, the authorities being called upon to take an oath of fealty to the sovereign; while the Prussians assumed a hostile aspect towards the Swedes, as if intending to compel them to evacuate Lauenberg. This ended in an open rupture, and the evacuation of Pomerania by the Swedes, after an action that was fought on the 27th of April, and embargoes mutually laid on the shipping of both those powers. Still the forbearance of Britain towards Prussia, and of the latter power towards England, led politicians to believe, that both states were acting in concert, for the purpose of deceiving Napoleon, and giving the King of Prussia time to put his army upon the most respectable footing. However, though it might have been expected that the generous treatment which the Emperor Alexander had experienced, after the battle of

Austerlitz, would have inspired him with pacific sentiments, the Russian army had scarcely escaped its critical situation in Moravia, scarcely had the Russian generals and the Emperor's guards been sent home without exchange, when orders were issued for the Russian troops to occupy the mouths of the Cattaro, upon the coasts of ancient Venetian Albany, ceded by Austria to France, whence the Russians were afterwards driven, as also from Dalmatia. But to strengthen himself against those new combinations, Louis Bonaparte,* as King of Holland, was called upon to act in concert with the new "Confederation of the Rhine," which detached almost all the German princes from the Emperor of Germany, placing them as tributaries and vassals under the power of Napoleon, which treaty of the Rhenish Confederation was signed at Paris, July 12, 1806. At the same period, a treaty of peace, negotiated between the Russian counsellor of state, M. d'Oubril, and General Clarke, on the part of France, was disowned by the Emperor Alexander, on the ground of that minister's having exceeded his instructions; while other negotiations, between Lord Lauderdale and the French government, shared a similar fate.

* On passing through Mont-de-Marsan, in the department of Landes, on his way to join the army of Portugal, in the year 1801, Louis Bonaparte was received with great demonstrations of joy, on account of his relationship to Napoleon. He had scarcely entered the hotel of the prefecture, where dispositions had been made for his reception, when the whole of the authorities waited on him in a body.

He was engaged in military details with the officers, when the prefect made his appearance, and presented to him, with great solemnity, all the constituted authorities, at the head of which was the president of the tribunal, an old and venerable magistrate, who had his speech in his hand, and seemed determined on delivering it, with or without consent. This was too much for the patience of Louis, but to prevent it was out of his power, as all his remonstrances were placed to the account of false modesty. The orator advanced, therefore, and with solemn voice began in these words:—"Young and valiant hero,"—— Instantly, Louis approached him with a confidential air, and, smiling at the same time, snatched from him, in a familiar manner, the discourse which he held in his hands, when he pronounced these words aloud:—

"*M. le President, I perceive that this discourse is addressed to my brother. I shall take care to acquaint him with the kind sentiments you entertain; I can assure you they will not be lost upon him,*" &c. This put an end to the harangues and presentations.

Prussia too, appeared most seriously inclined to make use of the weapons against France which she seemed to have been preparing against Sweden. Sweden was devoted to Russia, and Prussia was sold to England.

Notwithstanding the protestations that the Prussian government renewed almost daily through its minister at Paris, towards the middle of August her preparations assumed such a decided character, that their real object could be no longer concealed. About the same time Napoleon took possession of the fortress of Wesel, near the Rhine, which was one of the grievances alledged. Still, though M. De Lucchesini had been recalled from Paris, General Knobelsdorf was dispatched with a friendly letter from the King of Prussia to Napoleon, and the French ambassador at Berlin was treated with consideration.

On the 21st of September, the Emperor Napoleon wrote to the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, to furnish their contingent troops for his army, which was complied with, according to treaty. On the 25th, Napoleon quitted his imperial residence, to place himself at the head of his army, and arrived at Mayence on the 28th, and on the 1st of October he passed the Rhine. Whilst here, it seems he received the Prussian *ultimatum*, delivered by General Knobelsdorf, and transmitted to Napoleon from Paris. In this he was called upon to renounce the kingdoms of Holland and Italy, and threatened with the displeasure of Prussia, if his troops were not withdrawn from Germany, and made to cross the Rhine.

Napoleon could not finish reading the document that conveyed these demands, but threw it down with contempt. Alluding to the King of Prussia, he exclaimed, "Does he think himself in Champagne? Does he want to give us a new edition of his manifesto? What! does he pretend to mark out a route for our march back?

Really I pity Prussia. I feel for William. He is not aware what rhapsodies he is made to write. This is too ridiculous. Berthier, they wish to give us a rendezvous of honour for the 8th; a beauteous queen will be witness to the combat. Come, let us march on, and shew our courtesy. We will not halt till we enter Saxony." Then turning immediately to his secretary, he hastily dictated this proclamation:

"Soldiers! The order for your return to France was issued. You were already within a few days' march of your homes: triumphal *fêtes* awaited you, and the preparations for your reception had commenced in the capital; but while we thus too confidently resigned ourselves to security, new plots were hatching, under the mask of friendship and alliance. Cries of war have been raised at Berlin, and for two months we have been provoked with a degree of audacity that calls for vengeance. The same faction, the same headlong spirit which, under favour of our internal dissentions, led the Prussians fourteen years ago to the plains of Champagne, still prevails in their councils. If they no longer wish to burn and destroy Paris, they now boast their intention to plant their colours in Stuttgard, the capital of one of our allies. They would oblige Saxony, by a disgraceful transaction, to renounce her independence, by ranking her in the list of their provinces. They seek, in fine, to tear your laurels from your brows. They expect us to evacuate Germany at the sight of their army. What madness! Let them learn, that it would be a thousand times easier to destroy the great capital, than to sully the honour of the great people and their allies. In their former attempt, the plans of our enemies were frustrated. They found in the plains of Champagne, only shame, defeat and death; but the lessons of experience are forgotten, and there are men in whom the feelings of hatred and jealousy never become extinct. Soldiers, there is not one of you

who would wish to return to France by any other path than that of honour. We ought not to return except beneath triumphal arches. What! have we braved the inclemency of the seasons, the ocean, and the desert; have we subdued Europe, often united against us; have we extended our glory from east to west, only to return now like deserters; and are we to abandon our allies, and then to be told, that the French eagle has fled in dismay before the Prussians?

"But they have already arrived at our advanced-posts: let us then march upon them, since forbearance will not check their infatuation. Let the Prussian army experience the fate it shared fourteen years ago. Let us teach them, that if it be easy to obtain an increase of territory and power, with the friendship of the great people, their enmity, provoked by the neglect of prudence and reason, is more terrible than the storms of the ocean."

The Emperor quitted Bamberg on the 8th at three in the morning; and arrived on the same morning at Kronach. Every corps in the army was then in motion. The French soldiers had no wish but to combat. The Prussians occupied Schleitz, where General Tauenzien had six thousand Prussians and three thousand Saxons: on the 9th they were there charged and routed, and a thousand prisoners taken. After this success, the French were soon in possession of the whole course of the Saale. The Duke of Brunswick had calculated upon the idea of coming up with the French army upon the Maine, occupying their wings by detached corps, and upon penetrating their centre before they could concentrate their forces. By the aid of spies, it is said, he at this time knew the force and route marked out for each corps marching against the Prussians, and he had no doubt of anticipating them. Napoleon took a pleasure in cherishing this deception, and whilst the Duke of Brunswick made certain that the French would debouch by Kœnigshaften,

it appeared their movements on his centre were merely a *ruse de guerre* made to mislead him, and to prevent him from debouching by the forests of Thuringen, whilst they proceeded towards Cobourg and Memmingen, through woody and mountainous countries, where the Prussian cavalry would be sure to be crippled in their operations. As it was of the utmost importance to anticipate the French, the Duke of Brunswick hurried to Kœnigshaften.

Napoleon marched on Schleitz with the first corps, sixty leagues from the presumed point of attack. The third corps remained quietly at Naumburg, in the rear of the Duke; hostilities had been commenced only two days, when that prince, already uncovered on his left, found his communications with the Elbe in danger.

On the 10th of October, near Saalfeld, the division under the orders of General Suchett fell in with the Prussian advanced guard under Prince Hohenlohe, commanded by Prince Frederick Christian Louis of Prussia, charged with defending this post and the bridge over the Saale. A cannonade commenced, and was continued nearly two hours. A brigade of hussars, part of the French advanced guard, charged and overthrew the enemy's cavalry; then advancing at a charging pace, they threw the Prussian infantry into disorder; these were partly driven into the marshes, and partly dispersed in the woods. Prince Louis of Prussia, cousin-german to the King, fought with great intrepidity at the head of his cavalry; but in their retreat, being pursued by a French quarter-master named Guinde, he called to him to surrender. The prince stopped, turned round, and fought boldly with his intrepid adversary, when Guinde, ignorant of his rank, bade him surrender, otherwise he was a dead man. The answer he received was a blow on the face with a sabre. Thus under the necessity of defending himself, he ran his sabre through

the body of the prince, who fell dead at his feet. Two of the prince's aide-de-camps were killed by his side. Guinde himself was afterwards killed at the battle of Hanau, in 1813.

The Duke of Brunswick's advanced guard, on arriving on the Maine, found no enemy! This circumstance seemed unaccountable, and yet the Duke did not suspect the danger to which he was exposed. He retraced his steps in haste, and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar and Prince Hohenlohe were called upon to move, whilst the army of reserve made a forced march. Some of these mistook their route, and others did not use sufficient dispatch, whilst the Duke, disconcerted by a system of movements so new to him, knew not what course to adopt. Seeing his left wing about to be turned, he hastily rallied his army of reserve, advancing upon Halle, and left Prince Hohenlohe at Capellendorf to mask the retrograde movement. His troops, who had not shared the disasters of Saalfeld and Schleitz, ridiculed the beaten corps, in shouting "The King for ever! The Queen for ever!" Resolved to avenge the affront offered to the Prussian arms, they seemed to say, "there were not Frenchmen enough for them." The Duke himself had also recovered his confidence. On the road to Jena he found not more than thirty chasseurs stragglers. He thought it was not easy to surprise a skilful manœuvrer like himself. Hohenlohe's corps were encamped behind the heights of Jena; their masses extended beyond Weimar, and as far as the eye could reach. Napoleon reconnoitred them on the evening of the 13th, and fixed upon the following day for the attack. In the night he issued orders for the movements of the different corps. "Davoust," he is reported to have said, "must march on Apolda, so as to fall on the rear of the enemy's army: he may take what route he may think most expedient. If Bernadotte be at hand he may support him." In the meanwhile the Duke of Bruns-

wick flattered himself that the French could not debouch; but the axes of their pioneers removed every obstacle, and during the night a rock was cut through, and a passage made for the French artillery.

All the troops that occupied the plain of Jena were under arms by day-break: a thick fog then obscured the horizon; the Emperor Napoleon rode through the ranks, advising the soldiers to be upon their guard against the Prussian cavalry, who were looked upon as extremely formidable. He then reminded them, that about the same time a twelvemonth before, their valour had decided the fate of Ulm; that the Prussian army having lost their line of operations and their magazines, were confined much in the same manner as the Austrians were at Ulm; that they no longer fought for glory, but to secure their retreat; and that if they should succeed in endeavouring to fight their way through at any point, the corps who should suffer them to pass, would lose its honour and character. The soldiers answered this animated discourse, by demanding to be led against the enemy, and the cries of *forward!* and *let us march!* were heard from all parts.

The battle commenced on the right and left; the conflict was terrible. Davoust in particular, was placed in a situation sufficient to try a man of the most determined courage and firmness. Bernadotte refused to support him. He paraded round Apolda, while 26,000 French troops were engaged with 60,000 picked men, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick and the King of Prussia. Thus, says General Gorgaud, he caused the death of five or six thousand Frenchmen, and hazarded the success of the day, for which he experienced a very short disgrace. Napoleon on this occasion observed, that Bernadotte did not behave well; that he would have been pleased had Davoust been defeated; that Gascon will never do better; "but," added he, "the affair re-

flects the highest honour on the conqueror, and the more so, as Bernadotte rendered his situation a difficult one. Davoust," said he, "has had a terrible engagement: he had King William and the Duke of Brunswick opposed to him. The Prussians fought desperately."

In fact, it appears from Napoleon's own Memoirs, that "the conduct of Bernadotte at Jena was such, that the Emperor had signed the decree for bringing him before a council of war, and he would inevitably have been shot, so general was the indignation of the army against him; he had nearly occasioned the loss of the battle. It was out of regard for his wife, that the Emperor destroyed the order at the moment he was about to put it into the hands of the Prince of Neufchatel. Bernadotte commanded the first corps, of about 18,000 men; he arrived at Naumburg, in the rear of Marshal Davoust, who commanded the third corps, of about 30,000, to defend the defile of Kosen, and the field of battle at Averstadt. Half Davoust's corps had already passed the Saale, when Bernadotte arrived, and offered to head the column, upon the foolish pretext that his corps was No. 1. Davoust, with reason, opposed this, representing that it would occasion the loss of valuable time, and would confuse the troops in a defile, which would be productive of much mischief. Bernadotte then raised his camp and marched towards Dornburg: at break of day he passed the Saale there. Precisely at this time Davoust was attacked by the King of Prussia, at the head of 60,000 of his best troops. He then felt severely the loss of the corps under Bernadotte. At Dornburg this marshal had still an opportunity of retrieving his error, by falling upon the rear of the Prussian army; but he contented himself with parading his troops, without firing a shot: the generals, officers and soldiers, evinced the bitterness of their indignation in loud accusations of treason."

Davoust's plans were so well laid, his generals and his troops displayed such skill and courage, that Blucher, who had 12,000 cavalry, had not the satisfaction to penetrate through a single company. The king, the guards, and the whole army, attacked the French without obtaining better success. Amidst the deluge of fire that surrounded them on all sides, they preserved all their national gaiety. A soldier nick-named *the Emperor*, impatient at the obstinacy of the Prussian guards, exclaimed, "On with me, grenadiers! Come, follow the Emperor!" He rushed into the thickest of the battle, the troop followed him, and the enemy were penetrated: he was made a corporal.

Near Jena the victory was no less brilliant, the route was complete. At night the wreck of the Prussian army was pursued; some Saxon battalions were taken, and the French entered *pêle mêle* with them into Weimar. All the court, with the exception of the Grand Duke, were here. General Rapp allows that some *slight* disorders took place on this occasion.

Murat took up his quarters at the castle. Napoleon was highly satisfied: the courage of the Duchess of Weimar astonished him. He did not imagine the court would have waited for him, and he often repeated, that he did not like the family.

After the battle of Jena, the Prussians ardently wished for peace, and some of their generals seemed persuaded that an armistice had actually been granted. Kalkreuth announced it; Blucher swore that it was concluded. Marshal Soult, however, was not to be deceived. He refused a passage to the Prussian troops he had cut off. "Lay down your arms," said he; "I must receive the Emperor's orders. You shall retire, with his permission. We have been too often deceived." Kalkreuth refused to submit, and hostilities were renewed. The village of Greuffen was taken, and the enemy routed. Some other

columns that had used the same artifice escaped for a time, but were obliged to surrender some leagues further on.

About this time, the King of Prussia, disheartened by his misfortunes, addressed a letter to Napoleon, very different from his last. "It would have been better," said Napoleon, "if he had explained himself two days sooner; but no matter, I am willing to accede to any thing compatible with the dignity of France. I will send Duroc to the King of Prussia. But there is something still more necessary: proceed to Naumburg, to Dessau, and wherever we have wounded troops; see that they want for nothing; visit them for me, each man individually. Tell them—tell the marshal, that he, his generals, and his troops, have acquired everlasting claims on my gratitude." Not satisfied with this message, he wrote to Marshal Davoust, and the letter was inserted in the order of the day; even the wounded men could not refrain from expressing their satisfaction.

The French infantry gave fresh proofs of their valour, and sustained their reputation in the battle of Jena. In one of the charges which the division under Morand had to sustain from the numerous cavalry under Prince Henry, the 17th regiment, before presenting arms, placed their caps at the ends of their bayonets, crying *Vive l'Empereur!* "Why not fire then?" exclaimed Colonel Lanusse, who apprehended the enemy would be upon them before they were ready. "Oh, time enough for that," they replied, "at fifteen paces; you shall see." In fact, a murderous discharge at this distance made the Prussians turn their horses' heads and retire.

The ardor of the troops in general on this important day was such, that some corps, which circumstances prevented from taking part in the engagement, loudly expressed their dissatisfaction. One of these traits sufficiently characterize the soldiers, and the Emperor

under whose eyes they fought. Early in the battle of Jena, whilst the French cavalry were anxiously expected, Napoleon seeing his wings in a state of agitation, being threatened by the enemy's cavalry, set off at full gallop to direct the manœuvres, and change the front into squares. The infantry of the Imperial guard seeing all the rest of the troops engaged, whilst the Emperor left them in inaction, many voices were heard crying *forward!* "Who is that?" said the Emperor, smartly, and presenting himself in the front of the battalions,—"This is some beardless young man, who wishes to anticipate what I intend to do. Let him wait till he has commanded in thirty pitched battles, before he pretend to give me advice."

The Emperor established his head-quarters at Weimar. The Duchess of Weimar, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, preserved the noble pride of the ancient Germans. When all the persons of her family saved themselves at Brunswick, where the unhappy issue of the battle of Jena was already known, she had the courage to shut herself up with her ladies of honour in her chateau at Weimar. Herself and small society, during the terrible day of the 14th of October, tasted no other refreshment than some cups of chocolate. The state apartments were prepared for Bonaparte. When he arrived at the castle, some days after, the duchess having quitted her apartment, placed herself at the head of the grand staircase, and received him with all suitable respect. "Who are you?" said he, drawing back.—"I am the Duchess of Weimar."—"I pity you," replied he; "I will crush your husband. Let me dine in my own apartments." Afterwards he passed hastily by her. The night was passed in disorder and tumult. The unhappy duchess heard the distressing cries of her people, but could not assist them. However, early in the morning, she had the presence of mind to send one of her cham-

berlains to inquire after the health of his Majesty, and to request an audience. This step, suitable to the ceremony of courts, put Napoleon in mind of his quality as Emperor, and also in that respect, of the duty due from him to a sovereign princess. He sent a polite answer, and invited himself to breakfast with the duchess. Scarce had he entered the apartment, ere he began with his usual vivacity to question the duchess: "How could your husband be such a fool as to make war on me?"—"Your Majesty would have despised him, if he had not;" was the noble answer of the princess.—"How so?"—The duchess solemnly and gravely replied, "My husband has been in the service of the King of Prussia these thirty years, and certainly it was not a time for my husband with honour to quit him, at the moment he had so able and powerful an enemy as your Majesty to contend with." This admirable reply, as full of dignity as address, made a deep impression on Bonaparte; his features relaxed, and he continued questioning in a milder manner: "How comes it that the duke attached himself to Prussia?"—"Your Majesty shall hear from information, that the younger branches of the House of Saxony, the dukes, have always followed the elector's example; now, in the present crisis, wise and political motives have engaged the elector to unite himself with Prussia rather than Austria." The conversation continued some time longer on the same subject. At length, Napoleon said, "Madam, you have saved your husband. You are the most respectable lady I ever knew." Afterwards, repeating his expressions of respect, he added, in an insolent manner, "I pardon him, but solely on your account; he himself is but an indifferent subject." The princess made no reply: as a good mother, she remembered she was surrounded by unhappy children, for whom it became her far better to intercede; she did so, and succeeded; for she obtained of the conqueror, his

promise to spare the inhabitants of her duchy; and Napoleon acknowledged she was an amiable and sensible woman, and of dignified manners.

Napoleon confessed, that in the night before the battle of Jena, he had been exposed to the most imminent danger. He might have disappeared then, without any one clearly knowing his fate. He had approached the bivouacs of the Prussians in the dark, to reconnoitre them, having only a few officers about his person. The French army was almost every where on the alert, from the persuasion that the Prussians were strongly addicted to nocturnal attacks. Returning from this party, the Emperor was fired at by the first sentinel of his own camp, which proved a signal for the whole line; and Napoleon had no resource but to throw himself flat on his face till the mistake was discovered. His principal apprehension, however, was not realized; he feared that the Prussian line, which was very near him, would have acted in the same manner.

Whilst the French were following up their advantages, the Prussians were rallying their scattered forces at Magdeburg. The Duke of Wirtemburg, one of their generals, had already taken a position at Halle, and Bernadotte was marching upon him. He attacked the Prussians with the bayonet, killing and routing all that dared to oppose him. The slaughter was dreadful; and Napoleon visiting the field of battle next day, was struck with the sight of the heaps of dead which surrounded the bodies of the French soldiers. Observing on the uniforms of some of them the buttons of the 32d, he said, so many of that regiment had been killed in Italy, in Egypt, and elsewhere, that he thought none could then remain.

Arriving at Dessau, Napoleon treated the old duke and his son with much consideration. This venerable prince was really a father to his subjects. In the meanwhile the Prussians flying towards Magdeburg, took refuge

behind the intrenchments, where they were soon compelled to lay down their arms. The king himself narrowly escaped being taken. All the French corps were marching towards Berlin; but the honour of taking possession of that city, Napoleon had reserved for Davoust's corps, which had contributed so much to the victory at Jena. On the way to Potzdam, the troops were overtaken by such a violent storm, that Napoleon, though wrapped in his grey military great coat, was obliged to enter a house, where he was astonished to see a young female, a native of Egypt, who was much agitated at his presence, bestowing upon him the same religious veneration which he had been accustomed to receive from the Arabs. She was the widow of an officer in the army of the East, and had a son, for whom Napoleon undertook to provide, and granted her a pension of 1200 francs. "This," said Napoleon, "is the first time I ever took shelter against a storm, and I felt a presentiment that a good action awaited me."

The court had fled with such precipitation from Potzdam, that nothing had been carried away. Even the sword of Frederick the Great, the belt, and the cordon of his orders, were left here. Napoleon, taking possession of these, said, "I prefer these trophies to all the King of Prussia's treasures. I will send them to my veterans who served in the campaign of Hanover. I will present them to the governor of the Hospital of the Invalids, who will preserve them as a testimony of the victories of the army, and the revenge it has taken for the disasters of Rosbach."

After having visited, with religious veneration, the vault where the remains of the Great Frederick were deposited, he found them in a coffin of cedar covered with copper, without ornament, trophy, or any inscription that might recal the feats that immortalize this royal warrior.

At Potzdam Napoleon was overwhelmed with deputa-

tions. The envoy of the Duke of Brunswick, who now recommended his subjects to the generosity of the French, was not received with the same courtesy as the rest. "If," said Napoleon, "I were to demolish the city of Brunswick; if I were not to leave a stone of the walls standing, what would your prince think of me? And yet the law of retaliation would allow me to do in Brunswick what the duke would have done in my capital. To announce the design of destroying cities, may be the act of a madman; but to attempt to sully the honour of a whole army of brave troops; to wish to mark out a course for us to quit Germany, merely on the summons of the Prussian army, is a fact which posterity will not easily credit. When a general has grown grey in the career of arms, he should know how to respect military honour. It was not certainly in the plains of Champagne that the duke acquired the right of insulting the French standard. The disgrace does not attach itself to the King of Prussia, but to the general to whom, in the present difficult circumstances, he resigned the management of his affairs. His example served as an authority to impetuous youth, and led the king to act in opposition to his own opinion and positive conviction. However, Sir, you may assure the inhabitants of Brunswick, that the French will prove themselves generous enemies; and that the evils which may arise from the passage of troops through their territory, is contrary to my wish. Tell the Duke of Brunswick that he shall be treated with all the respect due to an enemy's officer, but that I cannot acknowledge one of the King of Prussia's generals as a sovereign. If the House of Brunswick should forfeit the sovereignty of its ancestors, the blame must rest with the author of the two wars, who in the one, wished to sap the very foundation of the great French capital, and in the other, attempted to cast disgrace on 200,000 brave troops. Much blood has been shed within these few days. Prussia is the vic-

tim of great disasters; and she may justly blame the man, who with a word might have averted them, if, like Nestor, he had raised his voice in the council."

Spandau having been surrendered to Marshal Lannes, it was visited by the Emperor, and narrowly inspected. Napoleon visited the Princess of Hesse at Berlin, and she inspired him with the most favourable sentiments towards her. The day after he entered the Prussian capital, he addressed his army with the following proclamation:

"Soldiers! You have fulfilled my expectations, and justified the confidence of the French people. You have endured privation and fatigue, with courage equal to the intrepidity and presence of mind which you evinced on the field of battle. You are the worthy defenders of the honour of my crown, and the glory of the French people. So long as you continue to be animated by the spirit which you now display, nothing can oppose you. I know not how to distinguish any particular corps. As the result of our campaign, one of the first powers in Europe, which lately proposed to us a dishonourable capitulation, has been overthrown. The forests and defiles of Franconia, the rivers Saale and the Elbe, which our fathers would not have crossed in seven years, we have traversed in seven days; in that short interval we have had four engagements and one great battle. Our entrance into Potzdam and Berlin had been preceded by the fame of our victories. We have made 60,000 prisoners, taken sixty-five standards, among which are the colours of the King of Prussia's guards, six hundred pieces of cannon, and three fortresses. Among the prisoners there are upwards of twenty generals. But notwithstanding all this, more than half our troops regret their not having fired a single shot. All the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as far as the Oder, are in our power. Soldiers, the Russians boast of coming to meet us, but we will advance to meet them;

we will save them half their march: they will meet another Austerlitz in the midst of Prussia. A nation who can so soon forget our generous treatment of her after that battle, in which the emperor, his court, and the wrecks of his army, owed their safety only to the capitulation we granted them, is a nation that cannot successfully contend with us. We will not again be the dupes of a treacherous peace. We will not lay down our arms till we compel the English, those eternal enemies of France, to renounce their plan of disturbing the Continent, and relinquish the tyranny which they maintain on the seas."

Soon after this proclamation had been issued, the Emperor proceeded to the camp, and reviewed the third corps: every individual who had particularly distinguished himself, was promoted or received a decoration. Marshal Davoust, in answer to Napoleon's compliments, assured him that this corps would always be to him what the tenth legion was to Cæsar.

The troops again rushed forward to pursue the wrecks of the Prussian army. Hohenlohe and all his corps, artillery and baggage, were expected by Napoleon to fall into his hands in a few days, and every thing happened nearly as he foresaw. Thus, when twenty-five thousand picked troops defiled before the Emperor, with forty-five standards and seventy-four pieces of artillery, transported with his success, he said, "This is well; but we have not got Blucher, who is so clever at making extemporary armistices. We must have him also." He immediately wrote the following lines to Murat: "Nothing is done, so long as any thing remains undone. You have turned Blucher's cavalry; let me soon hear that his force has experienced the fate of Hohenlohe's troops." Blucher continued to fly, not knowing where he went. "What does he intend," said Napoleon? "Whither is he going? he will scarcely throw himself into Holstein, for once

Engraved by Bromley from an original Painting.

Field Marshal

PRINCE BLÜCHER

of Wahlstatt

London. Published by G. Virtue. 26. Ivy Lane.

there, he cannot recross the Elbe: we shall soon have him here." Blucher laid down his arms some days after, having violated the Danish territory only to protract the inevitable surrender of 21,000 men, the standards, and last artillery of the Prussians. "Well," said Napoleon, on learning this news, "they are now advancing with the Austrians. They will be more reserved in future; they will say nothing more about Ulm. In three weeks they have four times renewed the fault committed there. Blucher must be sent to France, to Dijon; there he may amuse himself in forging armistices." The French marshals, however, generously made interest for Blucher, pleading that he had laid down his arms, and that it was necessary to make some allowance for his hussar habits. Napoleon acknowledged the justice of their observations, and Blucher was permitted to retire to Hamburgh.

Blucher, however, soon grew tired of that city, and earnestly entreated permission to reside in the vicinity of Berlin; when, wishing to avail himself of the influence which General Rapp possessed over the Emperor Napoleon, he wrote to him as follows:

"MONSIEUR LE GENERAL,

"Your excellency will probably remember that I had the honour of becoming acquainted with you some years ago, on your journey to Munster; and the marks of attention you then condescended to shew me, induce me to hope, that the unfortunate situation in which I am now placed, will not be absolutely indifferent to you. I take the liberty of addressing your excellency, to entreat your intercession with his Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy, that he may graciously order passports for myself, the two officers, my sons, and the rest of my family, to enable us to retire to the environs of Berlin, or into Pomerania, to one of my estates. Having lost